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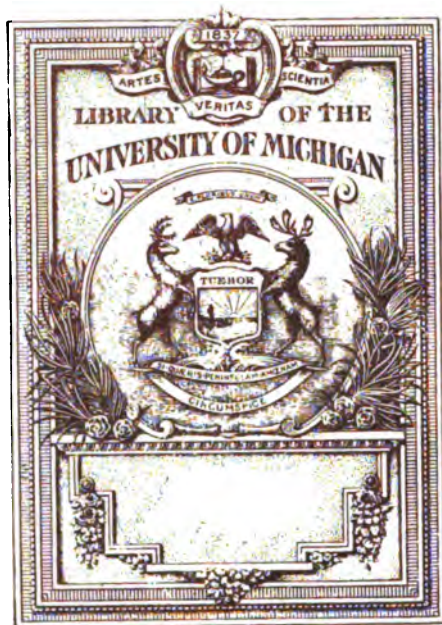
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BATAVIA

T H E
HISTORY OF SUMATRA,

Containing

An Account of the GOVERNMENT, LAWS,
CUSTOMS, and MANNERS

Of the

NATIVE INHABITANTS,

With

A DESCRIPTION of the NATURAL PRODUCTIONS,

And

A RELATION of the ANCIENT POLITICAL STATE

Of that

I S L A N D.

By

WILLIAM MARSDEN, F.R.S.

Late SECRETARY to the PRESIDENT and COUNCIL
OF FORT MARLBOROUGH.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250



OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

LAND

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P R E F A C E.

THE island of Sumatra, which, in point of situation and extent, holds a conspicuous rank on the terraqueous globe, and is surpassed by few in the bountiful indulgences of nature, has in all ages been unaccountably neglected by writers; infomuch, that it is at this day less known, as to the interior parts more especially, than the remotest island of modern discovery; although it has been constantly resorted to by Europeans, for some centuries, and the English have had a regular establishment there, for the last hundred years. It is true that the commercial importance of Sumatra has much declined. It is no longer the Emporium of Eastern riches, whither the traders of the West resorted with their cargoes, to exchange them for the precious merchandize of the Indian Archipelago: nor does it boast now the political consequence it acquired, when the rapid progress of the Portuguese successes there first received a check. That enterprising people, who caused so many kingdoms to shrink from the terror of their arms, met with nothing but disgrace in their attempts against Acheen, whose monarchs made them tremble in their turns. Yet still the importance of this island, in the eye of the natural historian, has continued undiminished, and has equally at all periods, laid claim to an attention, that does not appear, at any, to have been paid to it.

The Portuguese being better warriors than philosophers, and more eager to conquer nations, than to explore their manners or antiquities, it is not surprizing that they should have been unable to furnish the world with any particular and just description of a country, which they must have regarded with an evil eye. The Dutch were the next people from whom we had a right to expect information. They had an early intercourse with the island, and have at different times formed settlements in almost every part of it; but they are almost silent with respect to its history. This might perhaps be popularly accounted for, from the supposed hebetude of their national character, or their attachment to gain, which is apt to divert the mind from all liberal pursuits. But I believe the true reason is to be found, in the jealous policy of their commercial system, which deems it matter of expediency to prohibit the publication of any researches, that might tend to throw a light on the sources of their profit, and draw the attention of the rest of the world. But to what cause are we to ascribe the remissness of our own countrymen, whose opportunities have been equal to those of their predecessors or cotemporaries? It seems difficult to account for it, but the fact is, that, except a short sketch of the manners prevailing in a particular district of the island, published in the Philosophical Transactions of the year 1778, not one page of information respecting the inhabitants of Sumatra, has been communicated to the public, by any Englishman who has resided there.

To

P R E F A C E.

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To form a general and tolerably accurate account of this country and its inhabitants, is a work attended with great and peculiar difficulties. The necessary information is not to be procured from the people themselves, whose knowledge and inquiries are to the last degree confined, scarcely extending beyond the bounds of the district where they first drew breath; and but very rarely have the almost impervious woods of Sumatra been penetrated, to any considerable distance from the sea coast, by Europeans; whose observations have been then imperfect; trusted perhaps to memory only; or if committed to paper, lost to the world by their deaths. Other difficulties arise from the extraordinary diversity of national distinctions, which, under a great variety of independent governments, divide this island in many directions; and yet not from their number merely, nor from the dissimilarity in their languages or manners does the embarrassment entirely proceed: the local divisions are perplexed and uncertain; the extent of jurisdiction of the various potentates is inaccurately defined; settlers from different countries, and at different periods, have introduced an irregular, though powerful influence, that supersedes in some places the authority of the established governments, and imposes a real dominion on the natives, where a nominal one is not assumed. This, in a course of years, is productive of innovations that destroy the originality and genuineness of their customs and manners, obliterate ancient distinctions, and render confused the path of an investigator.

These

These objections, which seem to have hitherto proved unmountable with such as might have been inclined to attempt an history of Sumatra, would also have deterred me from an undertaking apparently so arduous ; had I not reflected, that those circumstances in which consisted the principal difficulty, were in fact the least interesting to the public, and of the least utility in themselves. It is of but small importance to determine with precision, whether a few villages on this or that particular river, belong to one petty chief or to another ; whether such a nation is divided into a greater or lesser number of tribes ; or which of two neighbouring powers originally did homage to the other for its title. History is only to be prized, as it tends to improve our knowledge of mankind, to which such investigations contribute in a very small degree. I have therefore attempted rather to give a comprehensive, than a circumstantial description of the divisions of the country into its various governments ; aiming at a more particular detail, in what respects the customs, opinions, arts, and industry of the original inhabitants, in their most genuine state. The interests of the European powers who have established themselves on the island ; the history of their settlements, and of the revolutions of their commerce, I have not considered as forming a part of my plan ; but these subjects, as connected with the accounts of the native inhabitants, and the history of their governments, are occasionally introduced.

I was

I was principally encouraged to this undertaking by the promises of assistance I received from some ingenious, and very highly esteemed friends, who resided with me on Sumatra. It has also been urged to me here in England, that as the subject is altogether new, it is a duty incumbent on me, to lay the information I am in possession of, however defective, before the public, who will not object to its being circumscribed, whilst its authenticity remains unimpeachable. This last quality is that which I can with the most confidence take upon me to vouch for. The greatest portion of what I have described, has fallen within the scope of my own immediate observation ; the remainder is either matter of common notoriety to every person residing on the island, or received upon the concurring authority of gentlemen, whose situation in the East India Company's service; long acquaintance with the natives ; extensive knowledge of their language, ideas, and manners; and respectability of character, render them worthy of the most implicit faith that can be given to human testimony.

I have been the more scrupulously exact in this particular, because my view was not, ultimately, to write an entertaining book, to which the marvellous might be thought not a little to contribute, but sincerely and conscientiously to add the small portion in my power, to the general knowledge of the age ; to throw some glimmering light on the path of the naturalist ; and more especially to furnish those philosophers, whose labors have been directed to the investigation of the history of Man, with facts to
serve

serve as *data* in their reasonings, which are too often rendered nugatory, and not seldom ridiculous, by assuming as truths, the misconceptions, or wilful impositions of travellers. The study of their own species is doubtless the most interesting and important that can claim the attention of mankind; and this science, like all others, it is impossible to improve by abstract speculation, merely. A regular series of authenticated facts, is what alone can enable us to rise towards a perfect knowledge in it. To have added one new and firm step in this arduous ascent, is a merit I should be proud to boast of.

T H E H I S T O R Y O F S U M A T R A.

Unknown to the Ancients—Situation—Name—General Description of the Country, its Mountains, Lakes, and Rivers—Air and Meteors—Monsoons, and Land and Sea-Breezes—Minerals and Fossils—Volcanos—Earthquakes—Surfs and Tides.

IF antiquity holds up to us some models, in different arts and sciences, which have been found inimitable; the moderns, on the other hand, have carried their inventions and improvements, in a variety of instances, to an extent and a degree of perfection, of which the former could entertain no ideas. Among those discoveries in which we have stepped so far beyond our masters, there is none more striking, or more eminently useful, than the means which the ingenuity of some, and the experience of others, have taught mankind, of determining with certainty and precision the relative situation of the various countries of the earth. What was formerly the subject of mere conjecture, or at best of vague and arbitrary computation, is now the clear result of settled rule, founded upon principles demonstratively just. It only remains for the liberality of princes and states, and the persevering industry of navigators and travellers, to effect the application of these means to their proper end, by continuing to ascertain the unknown and uncertain positions of all the parts of the world, which the barriers of nature will allow the skill and industry of man to approach.

Sumatra unknown to the ancients.

Ceylon probably their Taprobane.

Called Ramni by Arab travellers.

Java Minor by Marco Paulo.

The extensive and obviously situated island, which is the subject of the present work, seems, notwithstanding some obscure and self-contradictory passages of Ptolemy and Pliny, to have been utterly unknown to the Greek or Roman geographers, whose discoveries or conjectures rather, carried them no farther than *Ceylon*; which with more shadow of probability was their *Taprobane*, than *Sumatra*, although that name, during the middle ages, was uniformly applied to the latter island. Whether, in fact, the appellation of *Taprobane*, as introduced by the ancients, belonged to any place really existing, is a question which affords some room to be sceptical. Observing that a number of commodities, not produced in Europe, came from an island or islands in the supposed extremity of the east, whose situation they were ignorant of, they possibly might thence have been led to place in their charts one of ample extent, which should stand as the arbitrary representative of the whole. This supposition cuts short the various arguments that have been adduced by different writers, in support of the pretensions of any particular island to that celebrated name. The idea of Sumatra being the country of *Ophir*, whither Solomon sent his fleets, is too vague, and the subject wrapt in a veil of too remote antiquity, to admit discussion.* In times much later, the identity of Sumatra, as described or alluded to by travellers, appears not a little equivocal. The Arab travellers who, about the year 1173, penetrated into India and China, speak of an island which they call *Ramni*, whose description coinciding tolerably with the real situation and productions of Sumatra, allows us to conclude, that it was it they designed. Marco Paulo, the famous Venetian traveller, whose writings published in 1269, though long condemned as idle tales, have many internal marks of authenticity, describes an island which he calls *Java Minor*, that appears, on attentive perusal of ill spelt names, and more especially of some striking particulars in the manners of the people, to be no other than Sumatra, as I think will be evident to any investigator who is acquainted with the country.†

* A mountain in Sumatra is called by the name of *Ophir*; but this has been given to it by Europeans in modern days. Another near Malacca is likewise so named.

† Occasion will be taken in the sequel to examine into the authenticity of this curious, but obscure author's relation.

At length the expeditions of the Portuguese in the eastern seas made this island known to the rest of the world. They pointed out its situation and character, with as much accuracy as attended their other discoveries,* and which the experience of later ages has determined with more precision as follows.

Identity determined by the Portuguese.

Sumatra is an island in the East Indies; the most western of those classed by geographers under the distinction of *Sunda* islands; and constitutes, on that side, the boundary of the eastern Archipelago. Its general direction is nearly north west and south east. The equator divides it in almost equal parts, the one extremity being in five degrees thirty-three minutes, north, and the other, in five degrees fifty-six minutes south latitude. Fort Marlborough, on the point of land called *Ojong Carrang*, in latitude three degrees forty-six minutes, south, the only place whose longitude has been determined by actual observation, is found to lie one hundred and two degrees east of Greenwich;† but the situation of Acheen Head also is pretty accurately fixed by computation at ninety-five degrees, thirty-four minutes; and the longitudes in the Straits of Sunda are well ascertained by the short runs from Batavia, which city has the advantage of an observatory. Sumatra lies exposed on the south west side to the great Indian Ocean; the north point stretches into the bay of Bengal; to the north east it is divided from the peninsula of *Malayo* by the Straits of *Malacca*; to the east by the Straits of *Banca*, from the island of that name; to the south east by the commencement of what are called the China Seas; and on the south it is bounded by the Straits of *Sunda*, which separate it from the island of *Java*.‡

Situation.

* See Oforius: De Barros: Do Couto.

† Preparatory to an observation of the transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disc, in June 1769, Mr. Robert Nairne determined the longitude of Fort Marlborough, by eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, to be $101^{\circ} 42' 45''$ east from London; which was afterwards corrected by the Astronomer Royal to 102° .

‡ A tradition, taken notice of by several writers, prevailed, that Sumatra was anciently a part of the continent of Asia. Maffeus says, "Ea insula, a septentrione in austrum oblique porrecta, ab continente, in qua Malacca urbs est, angusto et periculoso dividitur mari; atque ob id ipsum, peninsula quondam credita est." John de Barros likewise speaks of Sumatra, as what the ancient geographers called the *Aurea Chersonesus*; thinking it to be a continuation of the continent. Vartomanus describes the straits of *Malacca* as a great river.

Name.

The name of "*Sumatra*," by which this island has been called in latter times, being unknown to the natives, who indeed are ignorant that it is an island, and have no general name whatever for it, I have been led to take much trouble, and to pursue a more laborious investigation than the importance of the object demanded, in order to deduce the origin of the appellation, or to learn, from whom the Portuguese, who in their earliest writings call it nearly by that name, adopted it, in place of the more ancient one of *Taprobane*. It has by them, and the voyagers of other nations, been successively spelt, *Samoterra*, *Samotra*, *C,omatra*, *Zamatra*, *Zamara*, *Sumotra*, *Samotra*, *Somatra*, *Samatra*, and lastly *Sumatra*. I must acknowledge that in the event of my research, I obtained but little satisfaction, unless it may be esteemed such, to have perceived that several others had attempted it with the same success. The Arabians, who before the Portuguese, were the greatest navigators of the Indian seas, appear to have distinguished it by the various names of *Alrami*, *Rami*, or *Ramni*, *Lameri*, *Sobarmab*, or *Sobormab*, *Samandar*, and *Azebain*, or *Azebani*; or else these names belong to different islands in that part of the world, which from their similarity of productions, and vicinity of situation, have been mistaken for each other. *Samandar* bears some resemblance to the modern name, but it is described by the Nubian geographer, *Edressi*, as lying near to the river *Ganges*. The Africans are said to call it *Achamba*. Monsieur D'Anville, whose authority should be of considerable weight, if the subject was not so very obscure, is confident that the *Jabadii insula* of Ptolemy, is Sumatra, though usually supposed to represent Java. The commentators of Arrian assert that this island is designed by the *insula Simundi*, vel *Palesimundi* of that writer, in his *periplus maris Erythraei*. *Odoricus*, a friar, who in the year 1331 visited some of the Indian islands, speaks of Java and *Symolia*, which name seems a kind of middle term between that given it by Arrian and the modern one of *Sumatra*, and may possibly be the true etymology. *Reilandus*, an able investigator of eastern antiquities, says that it is called Sumatra, from a certain high land named "*Samadra*", which he supposes to signify, in the language of the country, "*magna formica*"; but though there is no scarcity of *large ants* in the island, it is certain that they are never called by that name; it is nearly as certain that

that there is no remarkable hill there bearing the appellation he mentions; nor does the derivation either carry the appearance of probability, or any corroborating testimony in its favor. He mentions likewise, and in this he is supported by the Dutch writers, that the people of the neighbouring islands, call it *Indalas* (*Andeelees*), which holds good of the Javans, but it has no extensive acceptance, and the natives themselves, as before remarked, are ignorant of such a name, as well as of every other. This is a point which I took pains to investigate, and which I can pronounce upon with certainty; and to this circumstance principally the ambiguity respecting its ancient title is owing: as navigators of different nations had no common and permanent standard to refer to, each who visited it bestowed an arbitrary appellation, which subsequent travellers confounded and misapplied.* What seems pretty evident is, that the name, however derived, was learned by the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar, where they made their first establishments, and acquired a knowledge of the more eastern countries; very rude indeed at the earlier period, as appears by the *Itinerarium Portugalsium*, published in the year that their first expedition to Sumatra was fitted out; in which Cataia, or China, is described as an island.†

Sumatra

* Much inconvenience is experienced by navigators in modern times, from the arbitrary mode of bestowing names on lands newly discovered or explored. That name which the inhabitants, or those of the neighbouring countries, distinguish a place by, should ever be scrupulously preserved; if such can be ascertained. This seems to have been first attended to by Mr. Dalrymple, and since by Captain Cook.

† For the gratification of the curious reader, I shall subjoin the following extracts, relative to the ancient name of Sumatra, from those authorities which I had occasion to consult in the course of my investigation of that subject.

Voyage of Arabs to India and China, 1273. "An eastern island called *Ramni*: governed by many kings: eight or nine hundred leagues in length: gold mines: camphire: many islands near it; one of the largest called *El nian* (qu: *Neas*): use coconut oil: have many elephants; Japan wood: eat human flesh."—Herbelot. *Bibliothèque orientale*, 1697. "*Sobarmab* or *Sobarmab*, an island in the Chinese Sea, about which are many small ones uninhabited. Sea very tempestuous. Soundings generally forty fathoms. Scheriff Al Edressi writes, in the tenth part of his first climate, that the best camphire of the east is collected here. This isle is most probably Sumatra; the Arabians calling all that sea and land which is to the eastward of Cape Comorin, the sea and land of China. Some geographers remark that the greatest quantity of wood aloes comes from the isle of *Somander*, which may be what we call Sumatra. *Rami*, a rich country, bearing the tree called *Bacam* by the Arabs, and by us *Basil* wood (*Japan*), and where you find

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Sumatra is one of the largest islands in the world, but its breadth is determined with so little accuracy, that any attempt to calculate its superficies,

the animal which the Arabs and Persians name *Kerkedan*, (rhinoceros) is an island seven hundred leagues in length, and distant about three days sail from Serendib, which we believe to be Zeilan. *Dib* or *div*, in the Indian language, signifies an island. Edreffi says that the Chinese used to carry on a great traffic to Serindib—"There is reason to doubt their having ever passed Acheen—In the geographia Nubienfis of that writer (as quoted by Herbelot), the island called *Alrami* seems to answer best to Sumatra, except in its proximity to Serendib, being ten days sail instead of three. *Sabormab* has the next claim; and lastly *Samandar*, which though the nearest in name, scarcely agrees at all in situation, being said to lie near the *Ganges*—Jones, Description of Asia, 1773. "Farther eastward are the islands of *Samander*; *Rami* or *Lameri*, which may, perhaps, be Java, though, by the accounts of it, one would take it for the same with Samander, and then *Abinoman* will be *Java*, and *Mehrag* or *Sobormab*, *Borneo*"—Marco Paulo, 1269. "Beyond Petan, steering towards the south, at the distance of thirty three leagues, is *Java Minor*"—the description of which answers to Sumatra.—Odoricus, as mentioned in Hackluit t. 2. p. 45. "In the year 1331, Odoricus, a friar, was in Java: the first European that pierced into India and returned". (Marco Paulo an exception)—Mandeville, 1400. "Beside the ylle of *Lemery* is another that is clept *Sumobor*; and fast beside, a great ylle clept *Java*"—Nicoli de Conti, 1449. (Ramusio) gives a good account of Sumatra under the name of *Taprobane*, and particularly mentions some extraordinary customs, now well ascertained, of the *Batta* people.—Itinerarium Portugalensium in Indiam, printed 1508, but written, apparently, some years sooner. "Lacham mittit oppidum dictum *Samoterra*, ultra Calechut leucis ccccc". "Præterea in hoc mari Indico complures insulæ videntur, et inter alias duæ sunt quæ cæteras omni rerum celebritate præstant.—Altera Sayla dicitur, quæ abest ab dicto capite Comas M prope cc—Post hanc, ad orientem, altera visitur quæ dicitur *Samotra*, nos Taprobanum appellamus, quæ abest ab urbe Calechut itinere trium mensium. Ultra eam est Cataium feracissima, ut dictum est insula"—Ludovico Barthema, or Vartomanus. He travelled in 1503 and 4, and an edition of his work was published at Venice in 1517. "He passed over from *Melacha* to *Sumatra*, which appears to be Taprobana, and arrived at Pider, reckoned the best port in the island."—Here the name is spelt in the modern manner, contrary to the mode adopted by the Portuguese—Old map and description of Sumatra or Taprobana, by a French Captain; without date; but appears to have been written not many years after the first Portuguese voyages. Preserved in Ramusio, vol. 3.—In a letter from Emanuel king of Portugal to Pope Leo the tenth, dated 1513 (preserved in the Novus Orbis Historicus) he mentions the discovery of *Zamatra* by his subjects—Epistola di Massimiliano Transylvano, 1519. "Hanno navigato all'isola detta di gli antichi Taprobana, la qual adesso si chiama (*Zamara*) Sumatra; perche dove Tolomeo et Plinio et altri cosmographi han misso la Taprobana, non è isola alcuna, chi si possa credere esser quello"—Sebastianus Munsterus: Printed 1537. "Circa litora Taphrophane, quam hodie Sumatram vocant."—Cosmographie Univ. de A Thevet, 1541. "Near the point of Malacca is Taprobane or Sumathre, which the barbarians formerly called *Salique*: (mistake for Ceylon): the Arabs named it *Axbain*, and the Africans, *Achamba*. Famous for cinnamon. Kings of *Pazar* (*Pasay*), *Dargui* (perhaps *Andergery*), *Pedir*, *Ham* and *Biranc*, tributary to the grand Cam. Many spices here, but the pepper comes from Calcutt and Zeilan. Governed by many petty kings. In 1543 it was plundered and ravaged by some adventurers from *Cephala*. Dress of the people

superficies, must be liable to very considerable error. Like Great Britain, it is broadest at the southern extremity, narrowing gradually to the north ;

people well described. The equinoctial passes through the middle of the island"—Mendez de Pinto, 1558. "In 1539 the Portuguese governor of Malacca received an embassy from the king of the Batas, in the island of *Samatra*—Geography of Ptolemy translated into Italian by Geralimo Ruscelli. Printed 1561. "Taprobana, where the people, according to Ptolemy, have the sun exactly over their heads, and sometimes north, sometimes south of them, we call *Samotra* or Sumatra. Its four kings pay tribute to the Cham of Tartary"—Scolia J. G. Stukii, in periplum Arriani, 1577. "Taprobane olim, teste Arriano nostro, necnon Prolomeo, *Simundi* insula fuit appellata. Hanc plerique doctorum volunt esse insulam hodie Samatram, five Samatran, five Zamatran dictam."—Cosmographie de P. Appian par Gemma Frison, 1581. "Taprobana, isle autrefois nommée *Simundi*, et maintenant, selon aucuns, Sumatra. Ptolomée recite qu'elle estoit paravant dicté *Simonide*, & que les peuples d'icelle s'appelloient d'un commun nom, *Salas*, & qu'ils portoyent tous habits de femmes."—Orosius. Translation, 1581. "With these five ships he (Sequeira) sailed to the island formerly named Taprobane, and now *Zamatra*"—Masseus, Hist. Ind. Printed, 1590. Sequeria ad Somatrum primus omnium Lusitanorum accessit"—John de Barros, published about 1558. "Malacca had the epithet of *aurca* given to it, on account of the abundance of gold carried thither from *Monacabo* and *Barros*, countries in the island *Camatra*. At the time of our coming into India, the sea coast was divided into twenty kingdoms. Beginning at the most western point, and thence going round by the north, the first is called *Daya*; and those which follow in order, are, *Lambrij*, *Acbem*, *Biar*, *Pedr*, *Lids*, *Pirada*, *Pacem*, *Bara*, *Daru*, *Arca*, *Ircan*, *Rupat*, *Purij*, *Ciaca*, *Campar*, *Capocam*, *Andraguerij*, *Jambij*, *Palimbam*, *Tanna Malayo*, *Sacampam*, *Tukumbam*, *Andolix*, *Piriaman*, *Tico*, *Barros*, *Quinchel* and *Mancopa*, which is in the neighbourhood of *Daya* and *Lambrij* beforementioned"—Vincent le Blanc. Printed 1660. "Sumatra, called by some *Tasan*, which signifies a great Island. Inhabitants of Malacca say it was formerly joined to the continent; but separated by an earthquake."—Herbert's Travels. Printed 1677. Odoric call Sumatra, *Symolka*; Josephus, *Samotra*; others, *Abramis* and *Zamara*; *Symunda* in Ptolemy; by the inhabitants *Salyca* and *Salutra*. Mediterranean Town *Menacabo*, formerly called *Syndocanda*—Richshoffer, Voyages in German, 1667. Sumatra is spelt *Sammatra*.—Dampier, 1688. This circumnavigator mentions having seen an old map, in which there was no other name to Sumatra, but that of *Sbeba*.—Relandus. "Indalas. Ita appellatur incolis & vicinis, insula illa quæ nunc volgo Sumatra, a loco quodam excelsa in eâ insula dicto *Samadra*, i. e. *magna formica*."—I have been chiefly enabled to obtain the foregoing extracts, many of them from very scarce authors, and others that will occur in the subsequent part of the work; by recourse to the valuable collection of voyages and travels (perhaps unequalled in any library in Europe) formed by, and in the possession of Alexander Dalrymple, Esq.

Some persons have imagined that they find an easy derivation of the name of Sumatra, or Samatra, from a word so spelt, signifying a "squall" in the Portuguese and Spanish languages: but the fact is just the reverse. Sailors finding such squalls to prevail in the neighbourhood of that island, naturally called them after its name; and even the English call them *Samatras*; as they say a *Scotch Mist*.

* The

north; and to this island it is perhaps in size, more nearly allied than in shape.

Mountains.

A chain of mountains runs through its whole extent, the ranges being in many parts double and treble, but situated, in general, nearer to the western than the opposite coast; being, on the former, seldom so much as twenty miles from the sea. The height of these mountains, though very great, is not sufficient to occasion their being covered with snow, during any part of the year, as those in South America, between the tropics, are found to be. Mount *Ophir*, situated immediately under the equinoctial line, is supposed to be the highest visible from the sea; its summit being elevated thirteen thousand eight hundred and forty two feet above that level; which is no more than two thirds of the altitude the French astronomers have ascribed to the loftiest of the Andes, but somewhat exceeds that of the Peak of Teneriffe.* Between these ridges of mountains, are extensive plains, considerably elevated above the surface of the maritime lands, where the air is cool; and from this advantage they are esteemed the most eligible portion of the country, are consequently the best inhabited, and the most cleared from

* The following is the result of observations made by Mr. Robert Nairne, of the height of Mount *Ophir*.

Height of the peak above the level of the sea, in feet	23,842
English miles	2,6216
Nautical miles	2,26325
Inland, nearly	26 Naut. miles.
Distance from Maffang Point	32 ditto.
Distance at sea before the peak is sunk under the horizon	225 ditto.
Latitude of the peak	0°. 6'. minutes, north.
A volcano mountain, south of <i>Ophir</i> , is short of that in height by	1377 feet.
Inland, nearly	29 Naut. miles.

In order to form a comparison I subjoin the height, as computed by mathematicians, of other mountains in different parts of the world.

Chimborazo, the highest of the Andes, 3220 toises, or 20,633 English feet. Of this about 2400 feet from the summit are covered with eternal snow.

Carazon ascended by the French astronomers	15,800 Eng. feet.
Peak of Teneriffe. Feuillé - 2070 toises, or	23,265 feet.
Mount Blanc, Savoy. Sr. G. Shuckburgh	15,662
Mount <i>Ætna</i> . Ditto	10,954

woods,

woods, which elsewhere in general throughout Sumatra, cover both Woods.
 hills and vallies with an eternal shade. Here too are found many large
 and beautiful lakes that extend, at intervals, through the heart of the Lakes.
 country, and facilitate much the communication between the diffe-
 rent parts ; but their dimenſions, ſituation, or direction are very little
 known, though the natives make frequent mention of them in the ac-
 counts of their journies.* Theſe give birth to moſt of the larger
 rivers, and particularly to thoſe which empty themſelves to the eaſt-
 ward. Waterfalls and caſcades are not uncommon, as may be ſuppoſed, Waterfalls.
 in a country of ſo uneven a ſurface. A remarkable one deſcends from
 the north ſide of *Mount Poogong*, near *Poolo Peſang*. *Manſelar*, which
 forms the mouth of Tappanooly Bay, preſents to the view a fall, of very
 ſingular appearance, from the ſummit of a fugar loaf mountain ; the
 reſervoir of which the natives plauſibly aſſert to be a huge ſhell of the
 ſpecies called *Keemo*.† A ſmall but beautiful caſcade deſcends
 perpendicularly from the ſteep cliff, which, like an immense rampart,
 lines the ſea ſhore near *Manna*.‡ No country in the world perhaps is
 better watered than this. Springs are found wherever they are ſought
 for. The rivers on the weſtern coaſt are innumerable, but they are in Rivers.
 general too ſmall and rapid for the purpoſe of navigation. The vicinity
 of the mountains to that ſide of the iſland occasions this profuſion of
 rivulets, and at the ſame time the imperfections that attend them, by not

* The lakes principally ſpoken of are, one of great extent in the Batta country ; a ſecond in
 the country of Menangeabow, which the inhabitants avail themſelves of, in transporting goods
 to and from Palembang ; a third in the Corinchia country, viſited by Mr. Rogers, a ſervant of the
 Company, from Moco-Moco ; and a fourth in the Lampoon country, extending to Paſſummah.
 The boats employed on this laſt carry ſails, and are of a larger ſort, called *panchallang* : a day
 and a night are required to croſs it. The ſultan of Palembang's ſon came by that way to Croce,
 when Mr. Stevenſon had charge of the ſettlement.

† The *keemo* ſhell, probably the largeſt in the world, is of the cockle kind : it is found in
 the Bay of Tappanooly chiefly, but likewise in other parts of the eaſt : they are taken in deep
 water, by thruſting a long bamboo between the valves as they lie open, and by the immediate
 cloſure which follows, they are made faſt. The largeſt I have ſeen was about three to four feet over.
 The ſhell is perfectly white, and is worked up like ivory by the natives.

‡ A ſhip from Europe (the *Elgin*) ſent a boat, in order to procure freſh water there, attracted
 by its appearance from the ſea ; but the boat was loſt in the ſurf, and the crew drowned.

allowing them space to accumulate to any considerable size. On the eastern coast, the distance of the range of hills not only affords a larger scope for the course of the rivers before they disembogue; presents a greater surface for the receptacle of rain and vapors; and enables them to unite a greater number of subsidiary streams; but also renders the flux more steady and uniform by the extent of level space, than where the torrent rolls more immediately from the mountains. But it is not to be understood that on the western side there are no large rivers. *Cattown, Indrapour, Tabooyong, and Sinkell* have a claim to that title, although inferior in size to *Palembang, Jambee, Indergerree, Racan, and Battoo Bara*. The latter derive also a material advantage from the shelter given them by the peninsula of *Malacca*, and *Borneo, Banca* and the other islands of the Archipelago, which breaking the force of the sea, prevent the surf from throwing up those banks of sand that choke the entrance of the south western rivers, and render them impracticable to boats of any draught of water. These labor too under this additional inconvenience, that scarce any, except the largest, run out to sea in a direct course. The continual action of the surf, more powerful than the ordinary force of the stream, throws up at their mouths a bank of sand, which diverts their course to a direction parallel with the shore, between the cliffs and the beach, till the accumulated waters at length force their way wherever there is found the weakest resistance.* In the southerly Monsoon, when the surfs are usually highest, and the rivers, from the dryness of the weather, least rapid, this parallel course is at the greatest extent; but as the rivers swell with the rain, they gradually remove obstructions and recover their natural channel.

Air. The heat of the air is by no means so intense as might be expected, in a country occupying the middle of the torrid zone. It is more temperate than in many regions without the tropics, the thermometer, at the most sultry hour, which is about two in the afternoon, generally fluctuating

* Moco-Moco river takes a course, at times, of three miles, in this manner, before it mixes with the sea.

between.

between 82 and 85 degrees.* I do not recollect to have ever seen it higher than 86 in the shade. At sun rise it is usually as low as 70; the sensation of cold, however, is much greater than this would seem to indicate, as it occasions shivering and a chattering of the teeth; doubtless from the greater relaxation of the body, and openness of the pores in that climate; for the same temperature in England would be esteemed a considerable degree of warmth. These observations on the state of the air apply only to the districts near the sea coast, where, from their comparatively low situation, and the greater compression of the atmosphere, the sun's rays operate more powerfully. Inland, as the country ascends, the degree of heat decreases rapidly, insomuch, that beyond the first range of hills, the inhabitants find it expedient to light fires in the morning, and continue them till the day is advanced, for the purpose of warming themselves; a practice unknown in the other parts of the island. To the cold also they attribute the backwardness in growth of the coco-nut tree, which is sometimes twenty or thirty years in coming to perfection, and often fails to produce fruit. Situations are uniformly colder in proportion to their height above the level of the sea, unless where local circumstances, such as the neighbourhood of sandy plains, contribute to produce a contrary effect; but on Sumatra the coolness of the air is promoted by the quality of the soil, which is clayey, and the constant and strong verdure that prevails, which, by absorbing the sun's rays, prevents the effect of their reflection and refraction. The circumstance of the island being so narrow contributes also to its general temperateness, as wind directly, or recently from the sea is seldom possessed of any violent degree of heat; which it usually acquires in passing over large tracts of land in the tropical climates. Frost, snow, and hail are totally unknown to the inhabitants.† The atmosphere is in common

* At Calcutta in Bengal, the thermometer, in the hot season, rises to 93°: up the country sometimes to 101° in the shade; and even after sun set it has been observed at 96°.

† The hill people in the country of Lampooon speak of a peculiar kind of rain that falls there, which some have supposed to be what we call sleet; but the fact is not sufficiently established; and perhaps what the countrymen mean, is nothing more than the thick mists or clouds that usually encompass the tops of high hills, precipitating in rain.

more cloudy than in Europe, which is sensibly perceived, from the infrequency of clear star-light nights. It may proceed from the greater rarefaction of the air occasioning the clouds to descend lower and become more opaque, or merely from the stronger heat exhaling from the land and sea, a thicker and more plentiful vapor. The fog, called *caboot* by the natives, which rises every morning between the hills, is dense to a surprizing degree; the extremities of it, even when near at hand, being perfectly defined; and it seldom is observed to disperse till about three hours after sun rise.

Waterpout.

That extraordinary phænomenon, so well known and accurately described, the waterpout, frequently makes its appearance in these parts, and not seldom on shore. The largest and most distinct I had ever an opportunity of seeing, I met whilst on horseback. I was so near it, that the inward gyration, as distinct from the volume which surrounded it, was perfectly visible to me. It seemed to have taken its rise in Bencoolen Bay, its course tending in a direction from thence across the peninsula on which the settlement of Fort Marlborough stands; but before it reached the sea on the other side, it vanished by degrees, without any consequent fall of water, or other destructive effect; collecting itself into the body of the cloud from which it depended.

Thunder and Lightning.

Thunder and lightning are there so very frequent, as scarcely to attract the attention of persons long resident in the country. During the north west monsoon, the explosions are extremely violent; the forked lightning shoots in all directions, and the whole sky seems on fire; whilst the ground is agitated in a degree, little inferior to the motion of an earthquake. In the south east monsoon, the lightning is more constant, but the coruscations are less fierce or bright, and the thunder is scarcely audible. It should seem that the consequences of these awful meteors are not so fatal there as in Europe; few instances occurring of lives being lost, or buildings destroyed by the explosions, although electrical conductors have never been employed. Perhaps the paucity of inhabitants, in proportion to the extent of country, and the unsubstantial materials of the houses,

houses, may contribute to this observation. I have seen some trees, however, that have been shattered on Sumatra by the action of lightning.*

The causes which produce a successive variety of seasons in the parts of the earth without the tropics, having no relation or respect to the region of the torrid zone, a different order takes place there, and the year is distinguished into two divisions, usually called the rainy and dry monsoons,† from the weather peculiar to each. In the several parts of India these monsoons are governed by various particular laws, in regard to the time of their commencement, period of duration, circumstances attending their change, and direction of the prevailing wind, according to the nature and situation of the lands and coasts where their influence is felt. The farther peninsula of India, where the kingdom of Siam lies, experiences at the same time the effects of opposite seasons; the western side, in the Bay of Bengal, being exposed for half the year to continual rains, whilst on the eastern side the finest weather is enjoyed; and so on the different coasts of Indostan, the monsoons exert their influence alternately; the one remaining serene and undisturbed, whilst the other is agitated by storms. Along the coast of Coromandel, the change, or breaking up of the monsoon, as it is called, is frequently attended with the most violent gales of wind.

On the west coast of Sumatra, the S. E. monsoon, or dry season, begins about May, and slackens in September: the N. W. monsoon begins about November, and the hard rains cease about March. The monsoons for the most part commence and leave off gradually there; the months of April and May, October and November, generally affording weather and winds variable and uncertain.

The causes of these periodical winds have been investigated by several able naturalists, whose systems, however, do not entirely correspond

Cause of the Monsoons.

* Since the above was written, accounts have been received that a Magazine at Fort Marlborough, containing four hundred barrels of powder, was fired by lightning, and blown up, on the 18th of March 1782.

† The term "Monsoon," appears to be a corruption of the word "*Moossem*," which, both in Arabic and Malay, signifies a year. *Taoun*, another Malay word for season or year, respects their harvests.

either

either in the principles laid down, or in their application to the effects known to be produced in different parts of the globe. I shall summarily mention what appear to me the most evident, or probable at least, among the general laws, or inferences, which have been deduced from the examination of this subject. If the sea were perfectly uninterrupted, and free from the irregular influence of lands, a perpetual easterly wind would prevail in all that space comprehended between the twenty eighth or thirtieth degrees of north and south latitude. This is primarily occasioned by the diurnal revolution of the earth upon its axis from West to East; but whether through the operation of the sun, proceeding westward, upon the atmospheric fluid; or the rapidity of revolution of the solid body, which leaves behind it that fluid with which it is surrounded, and thereby causes it virtually to recede in a contrary direction; or whether these principles co-operate, or oppose each other, as has been ingeniously contended; I shall not take upon me to decide. It is sufficient to say, that such an effect appears to be the first general law of the tropical winds. Whatever may be the degree of the sun's influence upon the atmosphere, in his transient diurnal course, it cannot be doubted but that in regard to his station in the path of the ecliptic, his power is considerable. Towards that region of the air which is rarefied by the more immediate presence of his heat, the colder and denser parts will naturally flow. Consequently from about, and a few degrees beyond, the tropics, on either side, the air tends towards the equator; and combining with the general eastern current beforementioned, produces (or would, if the surface were uniform) a N. E. wind in the northern division, and a S. E. in the southern; varying in the extent of its course, as the sun happens to be more or less remote at the time. These are denominated the trade-winds, and are the subject of the second general observation. It is evident that with respect to the middle space between the tropics, those parts which at one season of the year lie to the northward of the sun, are, during another, to the southward of him; and of course that an alternation of the effects last described must take place, according to the relative situation of the luminary: or in other words, that the principle which causes at one time a N. E. wind to prevail at any particular

particular spot in those latitudes, must, when the circumstances are changed, occasion a S. E. wind. Such may be esteemed the outline of the periodical winds, which undoubtedly depend upon the alternate course of the sun, northwards and southwards; and this I state as the third general law. But although this may be conformable with experience in extensive oceans, yet in the vicinity of continents, and great islands, deviations are remarked that almost seem to overturn the principle. Along the western coast of Africa, and in some parts of the Indian seas, the periodical winds, or monsoons, as they are termed in the latter, blow from the W., N. W., and S. W. according to the situation, extent, and nature of the nearest lands; the effect of which upon the incumbent atmosphere, when heated by the sun, at those seasons in which he is vertical, is prodigious, and possibly superior to that of any other cause which contributes to the production or direction of wind. To trace the operation of this irregular principle through the several winds prevalent in India, and their periodical failures and changes, would prove an intricate, but I conceive by no means an impossible task*. It is foreign however to my present purpose, and I shall only observe, that the N. E. monsoon is changed, on the western coast of Sumatra, to N. W. or W. N. W. by the influence of the land. During the S. E. monsoon, the wind is found to blow there, between that point and S. S. W. Whilst the sun continues near the equator, the winds are variable, nor is their direction fixed till he has advanced several degrees towards the tropic: and this is the cause of the monsoons usually setting in, as I have observed, about May and November, instead of the equinoctial months.

Thus much is sufficient with regard to the periodical winds. I shall proceed to give an account of those distinguished by the appellation of land and sea breezes, which require from me a minuter investigation, both because, as being more local, they more particularly belong to my subject, and that their nature has hitherto been less accurately treated of by naturalists.

Land and Sea
Breezes.

* It has been attempted, and with much ingenious reasoning by Mr. Semeyns, in the third Vol. of the *Haerlem Transactions*, which have but lately fallen into my hands.

In

In this island, as well as all other countries between the tropics, of any considerable extent, the wind uniformly blows from the sea to the land, for a certain number of hours in the four and twenty, and then changes, and blows for about as many from the land to the sea: excepting only when the monsoon rages with remarkable violence, and even at such time the wind rarely fails to incline a few points, in compliance with the efforts of the subordinate cause, which has not power, under these circumstances, to produce an entire change. On the west coast of Sumatra, the sea breeze usually sets in, after an hour or two of calm, about ten in the forenoon, and continues till near six in the evening. About seven, the land breeze comes off, and prevails through the night, till towards eight in the morning, when it gradually dies away.

Cause of the
Land and Sea
Breezes.

These depend upon the same general principle that causes and regulates all other wind. Heat acting upon air, rarefies it, by which it becomes specifically lighter, and mounts upward. The denser parts of the atmosphere, which surround that so rarefied, rush into the vacuity from their superior weight; endeavoring, as the laws of gravity require, to restore the equilibrium. Thus in the round buildings where the manufactory of glass is carried on, the heat of the furnace in the center being intense, a violent current of air may be perceived to force its way in, through doors or crevices, on opposite sides of the house. As the general winds are caused by the *direct* influence of the sun's rays upon the atmosphere, that particular deviation of the current distinguished by the name of land and sea breezes, is caused by the influence of his *reflected* rays, returned from the earth or sea on which they strike. The surface of the earth is more suddenly heated by the rays of the sun, than that of the sea, from its greater density and state of rest; consequently it reflects those rays sooner and with more power: but owing also to its density, the heat is more superficial than that imbibed by the sea, which gets more intimately warmed, by its transparency, and by its motion, continually presenting a fresh surface to the sun. I shall now endeavor to apply these principles. By the time the rising sun has ascended to the height of thirty or forty degrees above the horizon,

hizon, the earth has acquired, and reflected on the body of air situated over it, a degree of heat sufficient to rarefy it and destroy its equilibrium; in consequence of which, the body of air above the sea, not being equally, or scarcely at all rarefied, rushes towards the land; and the same causes operating so long as the sun continues above the horizon, a constant sea breeze, or current of air from sea to land, prevails during that time. From about an hour before sun set, the surface of the earth begins to lose fast the heat it has acquired from the more perpendicular rays. That influence of course ceases, and a calm succeeds. The warmth imparted to the sea, not so violent as that of the land, but more deeply imbibed, and consequently more permanent, now acts in turn, and by the rarefaction it causes, draws towards its region the land air, grown cooler, more dense, and heavier, which continues thus to flow back, till the earth, by a renovation of its heat in the morning, once more obtains the ascendancy. Such is the general rule, conformable with experience, and founded, as it seems to me, in the laws of motion, and the nature of things. The following observations will serve to corroborate what I have advanced, and to throw additional light on the subject, for the information and guidance of any future investigator.

The periodical winds which are supposed to blow during six months from the N. W. and as many from the S. E. rarely observe this regularity, except in the very heart of the monsoon; inclining, almost at all times, several points to seaward, and not unfrequently blowing from the S. W. or in a line perpendicular to the coast. This must be attributed to the influence of that principle which causes the land and sea winds proving on these occasions more powerful than the principle of the periodical winds; which two seem here to act at right angles with each other: and as the influence of either is prevalent, the winds approach to a course perpendicular to, or parallel with the line of the coast. The tendency of the land wind at night has almost ever a correspondence with the sea wind of the preceding or following day, (except when a squall or other sudden alteration of weather, to which these climates are particularly liable, produces an irregularity) not blowing in a direction imme-

D

diately

diately opposite to it, which would be the case, if the former were, as some writers have supposed, merely the effect of the accumulation and redundance of the latter, without any positive cause, but forming an equal and contiguous angle, of which the coast is the common side. Thus, if the coast be conceived to run N. and S., the same influence, or combination of influences, which produces a sea wind at N. W. produces a land wind at N. E.; or adapting the case to Sumatra, which lies N. W. and S. E., a sea wind at S. is preceded or followed by a land wind at E. This remark must not be taken in too strict a sense, but only as the result of general observation. If the land wind, in the course of the night, should draw round from E. to N. it would be looked upon as an infallible prognostic of a W. or N. W. wind the next day. On this principle it is that the natives foretel the direction of the wind by the noise of the surf at night, which if heard from the northward, is esteemed the forerunner of a northerly wind, and *vice versa*. The quarter from which the noise is heard depends upon the course of the land wind, which brings the sound with it, and drowns it to leeward—the land wind has a correspondence with the next day's sea wind—and thus the divination is accounted for.

The effect of the sea wind is not perceived to the distance of more than three or four leagues from the shore in common, and for the most part it is fainter in proportion to the distance. When it first sets in, it does not commence at the remoter extremity of its limits, but very near the shore, and gradually extends itself farther to sea, as the day advances; probably taking the longer or shorter course as the day is more or less hot. I have frequently observed the sails of ships, at the distance of four, six, or eight miles, quite becalmed, whilst a fresh sea breeze was at the time blowing upon the shore. In an hour afterwards they have felt its effect.*

Passing along the beach about six o'clock in the evening, when the sea breeze is making its full efforts, I have perceived it to blow with a

* This observation, as well as many others I have made on the subject, I find corroborated in the Treatise before quoted from the Haerlem Transactions, which I had not seen when the present work was first published.

considerable

considerable degree of warmth, owing to the heat the sea had by that time acquired, which would soon begin to divert the current of air towards it, when it had first overcome the *vis inertia* that preserves motion in a body after the impelling power has ceased to operate. I have likewise been sensible of a degree of warmth on passing, within two hours after sun set, to leeward of a lake of fresh water; which proves the assertion of water imbibing a more permanent heat than earth:—in the day-time the breeze would be rendered cool in crossing the same lake.

Approaching an island situated at a distance from any other land, I was struck with the appearance of the clouds about nine in the morning, which then formed a perfect circle round it, the middle being a clear azure, and resembled what the painters call a Glory. This I account for from the reflected rays of the sun rarefying the atmosphere immediately over the island, and equally in all parts, which caused a conflux of the neighbouring air, and with it the circumjacent clouds. These last, tending uniformly to the center, compressed each other at a certain distance from it, and, like the stones in an arch of masonry, prevented each other's nearer approach. That island however does not experience the vicissitude of land and sea breezes, being too small, and too lofty, and situated in a latitude where the trade or perpetual winds prevail in their utmost force. In sandy countries the effect of the sun's rays penetrating deeply, a more permanent heat is produced, the consequence of which should be, the longer continuance of the sea breeze in the evening; and agreeably to this supposition I have been informed, that on the coast of Coromandel it seldom dies away before ten at night. I shall only add on this subject, that the land wind on Sumatra is cold, chilly, and damp; an exposure to it is therefore dangerous to the health, and sleeping in it almost certain death.

The soil of Sumatra may be spoken of generally as a stiff, reddish clay, covered with a stratum or layer of black mould, of no considerable depth. From this there springs a strong and perpetual verdure, of rank grass, brush wood, or timber trees, according as the country has remained

Soil.

a longer or shorter time undisturbed by the consequences of population, which being in most places extremely thin, it happens that at least three parts in four of the island, and to the southward a much greater proportion, is an impervious forest.

Unevenness of
Surface.

Along the western coast of the island, the low country, or space of land which extends from the sea shore to the foot of the mountains, is intersected and rendered uneven to a surprising degree by swamps, whose irregular and winding course may in some places be traced in a continual chain for many miles, till they discharge themselves either into the sea, some neighbouring lake, or the fens that are so commonly found near the banks of the larger rivers, and receive their overflowings in the rainy monsoons. The spots of land which these swamps encompass become so many islands and peninsulas, sometimes flat at top, and often mere ridges; having in some places a gentle declivity, and in others descending almost perpendicularly to the depth of an hundred feet. In few parts of the country of Bencoolen, or of the northern districts adjacent to it, could a tolerably level space of four hundred yards square be marked out: about Soongey-lamo in particular, there is not a plain to be met with of the fourth part of that extent. I have often, from an elevated situation, where a wider range was subjected to the eye, surveyed with admiration the uncommon face which nature assumes, and made inquiries and attended to conjectures on the causes of these inequalities. Some chuse to attribute them to the successive concussions of earthquakes, through a course of centuries. But they do not seem to be the effect of such a cause. There are no abrupt fissures; the hollows and swellings are for the most part smooth and regularly sloping, so as to exhibit not unfrequently the appearance of an amphitheatre, and they are clothed with verdure from the summit to the edge of the swamp. From this latter circumstance it is also evident that they are not, as others suppose, occasioned by the falls of heavy rains that deluge the country for one half of the year. The most summary way of accounting for this extraordinary unevenness of surface were to conclude, that in the original construction

struction of our globe, Sumatra was thus formed by the same hand which spread out the sandy plains of Arabia, and raised up the Alps and Andes beyond the region of the clouds. But this is a mode of solution, which, if generally adopted, would become an insuperable bar to all progress in natural knowledge, by damping curiosity and restraining research. Nature, we know from sufficient experience, is not only turned from her original course by the industry of man, but also sometimes checks and crosses her own career. What has happened in some instances it is not unfair to suppose may happen in others; nor is it presumption to trace the intermediate causes of events, which are themselves derived from one first, universal, and eternal principle. To me it would seem, that the springs of water with which these parts of the island abound in an uncommon degree, operate directly, though obscurely, to the producing this irregularity of the surface of the earth. They derive their number, and an extraordinary portion of activity, from the loftiness of the ranges of mountains that occupy the interior country, and intercept and collect the floating vapors. Precipitated into rain at such a height, the water acquires in its descent through the fissures or pores of these mountains, a considerable force, which exerts itself in every direction, lateral and perpendicular, to procure a vent. The existence of these copious springs is proved, in the facility with which wells are every where sunk; requiring no choice of ground, but as it may respect the convenience of the proprietor; all situations, whether high or low, being prodigal of this valuable element. Where the approaches of the sea have rendered the cliffs abrupt, innumerable rills, or rather a continued moisture is seen to ooze through, and trickle down the steep. Where, on the contrary, the sea has retired and thrown up banks of sand in its retreat, I have remarked the streams of water, at a certain level, and commonly between the boundaries of the tide, effecting their passage through the loose and feeble barrier opposed to them. In short, every part of the low country is pregnant with springs that labor for the birth; and these continual struggles, this violent activity of subterraneous waters, must gradually undermine the plains above. The earth is imperceptibly excavated, the surface settles in, and hence the inequalities we speak of.

Cause of this
inequality.

The

The operation is slow, but unremitting, and, I conceive, fully capable of the effect.

Mineral and
Fossil produc-
tions.
Gold.

The earth is rich in minerals and other fossil productions. No country has been more famous in all ages for gold, and though the sources from whence it is drawn may be supposed in some measure exhausted, by the avarice and industry of ages, yet at this day the quantity procured is very considerable, and doubtless might be much increased; were the simple labor of the gatherer assisted by a knowledge of the arts of mineralogy. There are also copper mines, whose ore is very rich, and resembles the Japan copper in the appearance of a mixture of gold.

Copper.

Iron.

Iron ore is collected, smelted, formed into metal, and worked up in the country of Menangkabow. That it abounds in many other places is evident, from the color it is perceived to communicate to the soil. On many parts of the coast, the sand of the beach is of a strong shining black, and is attracted by the loadstone. The steel manufactured at the abovementioned place, has a peculiar temper, and a degree of hardness that has never been imitated in Europe. Tin, called by the French writers *Calin*, is one of the principal export commodities of the island.

Tin.

Sulphur.

Saltpetre.

The country where it chiefly abounds, is in the neighbourhood of Palembang on the east coast, but in many other parts the natives point out its existence, and particularly about Pedattee near Bencoolén. Sulphur is gathered in any quantity about the numerous volcanos. Saltpetre the natives procure, by a process of their own, from the earth which is found impregnated with it; chiefly in extensive caves that have been, from the beginning of time, the haunt of a certain species of birds, of whose dung the soil is formed. Coal, mostly washed down by the

Coal.

floods, is collected in several parts, particularly at Cattown, Ayerrammee, and Bencoolén. It is light, and not esteemed very good, but I am informed that this is the case with all coal found near the surface of the earth. The veins are observed to run, not in an horizontal, but in an inclined direction, and till the pits have some depth, the fossil is of an indifferent quality. The little island of Poolo Pisang, close to the foot of Mount Poogong, is chiefly a bed of rock crystal. Mineral and hot springs have been discovered in many districts. In taste the waters

Crystal.

Hot springs.

mostly

mostly resemble those of Harrowgate, being nauseous to the palate. The oleum terræ, or earth oil, used chiefly as a preservative against the destructive ravages of the white ants, is collected at Ippoo and elsewhere.* Earth Oil. There is no species of hard rock to be met with in the low parts of the island, near the sea shore. Besides the ledges of coral, which are covered by the tide, that which generally prevails is the *nappal*, as it is Soft Rock. called by the inhabitants, forming the basis of the red cliffs, and not unfrequently the beds of the rivers. Though this nappal has the appearance of rock, it possesses in fact so little solidity, that it is difficult to pronounce whether it be a soft stone or only an indurated clay. The surface of it becomes smooth and glossy by a slight attrition, and to the touch resembles soap, which is its most striking characteristic. Except those parts of it, which by long exposure to the air, have acquired a greater degree of hardness, it may easily be cut with a knife or any sharp instrument; it is not soluble in water, and makes no effervescence with acids. Its component parts appear to be clay and sand bound together by a glutinous or saponaceous matter, and its color is either grey, brown, or red, according to the nature of the earth, that prevails in its composition. The red nappal has by much the smallest proportion of sand, and seems to possess all the qualities of the steatite or soap earth, found in Cornwall and other countries. The mountain stone is a species of granite, for the most part of a lightish slate colour.

Where the encroachments of the sea have undermined the land, the cliffs are left abrupt and naked, in some places to a very considerable height. In these many curious fossils are discovered, such as petrified wood, and sea shells of various sorts. Hypotheses on this subject have been so ably supported and so powerfully attacked, that I shall not presume to intrude myself in the lists. I shall only observe, that being so near the sea, many would hesitate to allow such discoveries to be of any weight in proving a violent alteration to have taken place in the surface of the terraqueous globe; whilst, on the other hand, it is unaccountable how, in the common course of natural events, such extraneous matter

* The fountain of Naphtha or liquid balsam, found at Pedir (*Peder*), so much celebrated by the Portuguese writers is doubtless this oleum terræ, or *menia tanna*, as it is called by the Malays.

should

Colored
Earths.

should come to be lodged in strata, at the height perhaps of fifty feet above the level of the water, and as many below the surface of the land. Here are likewise found various species of earths, which might be applied to valuable purposes, as painters colors and otherwise. The most common are the yellow and red, probably ochres, and the white, which answers the description of the *millum* of the ancients.

Volcanos.

There are a number of volcano mountains in this, as in almost all the other islands of the eastern Archipelago. They are called in the Malay language *goongong apper*. I have never heard of the lava flowing from them in such a quantity as to cause any damage; but this may be owing to the thinness of population, which does not render it necessary for the inhabitants to settle in their neighbourhood. The only volcano I had an opportunity of observing, opened in the side of a mountain, about twenty miles inland of Bencoolen, one fourth way from its top, as nearly as I can judge. It scarcely ever failed to emit smoke, but the column was only visible for two or three hours in the morning, seldom rising and preserving its form, above the upper edge of the hill, which is not of a conical shape, but extending with a gradual slope. The high trees with which the country thereabout is covered, prevent the crater from being discernible at a distance; and this proves, that the spot is not considerably raised or otherwise affected by the eruptions. I could never perceive that it had any connection with the earthquakes, which are very frequently felt there. Sometimes it has emitted smoke upon these occasions, and in other instances, not. Yet during a smart earthquake which happened a few years before my arrival, it was remarked to send forth flame, which it is rarely known to do. The apprehension of the European inhabitants however, is rather more excited, when it continues any length of time without a tendency to an eruption, as they conceive it to be the vent by which the inflammable matter escapes, that would otherwise produce these commotions of the earth. Comparatively with the descriptions I have read of earthquakes in South America and other countries, those which happen in Sumatra, are generally very slight; and the usual manner of building, renders them but little

Earthquakes.

little formidable to the natives. The most severe that I have known, Remarkable effects of an earthquake. was chiefly experienced in the district of Manna, in the year 1770. A village was destroyed by the houses falling down and taking fire, and several lives were lost.* The ground was in one place rent a quarter of a mile, the width of two fathoms, and depth of four or five. A bituminous matter is described to have swelled over the sides of the cavity, and the earth, for a long time after the shocks, was observed to contract and dilate alternately. Many parts of the hills far inland could be distinguished to have given way, and a consequence of this was, that during three weeks, Manna river was so much impregnated with particles of clay, that the natives could not bathe in it. At this time was formed near to the mouth of Padang Goochie, a neighbouring river, south of the former, a large plain, seven miles long and half a mile broad; where there had been before only a narrow beach. The quantity of earth brought down on this occasion was so considerable, that the hill upon which the English resident's house stands, appears, from indubitable marks, less elevated by fifteen feet than it was before the event. Earthquakes have been remarked by some to happen usually upon sudden changes of weather, and particularly after violent heats; but I do not vouch this upon my own experience, which has been pretty ample. They are preceded by a low rumbling noise like distant thunder. The domestic cattle and fowls are sensible of the preternatural motion, and seem much alarmed; the latter making the cry they are wont to do on the approach of birds of prey. Houses situated on a low sandy soil are least affected, and those which stand on distinct hills, suffer most from the shocks, because the further removed from the center of motion, the greater the agitation; and the loose contexture of the one foundation, making less resistance than the solidity of the other, subjects the building to less violence. Ships at anchor in the road, though several miles distant from the shore, are strongly sensible of the concussion.

Besides the new land formed by the convulsions above described, the sea by a gradual recess in some parts, produces the same effect. New Land formed. Many

* I am informed that in 1763, an entire village was swallowed up by an earthquake in *Poole Nera*, one of the islands which lie off the western coast of Sumatra.

instances of this kind, of no considerable extent however, have been observed within the memory of persons now living. But it would seem to me, that that large tract of land, called *Poolo Point*, forming the bay of the name, near to Silebar, with much of the adjacent country, has thus been left by the withdrawing, or thrown up by the motion of the sea. Perhaps the point may have been at first an island; from whence its appellation of *Poolo*, and the parts more inland, since gradually united to it.* Various circumstances tend to corroborate such an opinion, and to evince the probability that this was not an original portion of the main, but new, half-formed land. All the swamps and marshy grounds that lie within the beach, and near the extremity there are little else, are known, in consequence of repeated surveys, to be lower than the level of high water; the bank of sand alone preventing an inundation. The country is not only quite free from hills or inequalities of any kind, but has scarcely a visible slope. Silebar river, which empties itself into Poolo Bay, is totally unlike those in other parts of the island. The motion of its stream is hardly perceptible; it is never affected by floods; its course is marked out, not by banks covered with ancient and venerable woods, but by rows of mangroves and other aquatics, springing from the ooze, and perfectly regular. Some miles from the mouth, it opens into a beautiful and extensive lake, diversified with small islands, flat, and verdant with rushes only. The point of Poolo is covered with the *Arow* tree, or bastard Pine, as some have called it,† which never grows but in sea sand, and rises fast. None such are found toward Soongey-lamo, and the rest of the shore northward of Marlborough Point, where on the contrary you perceive the effects of continual depredations by the ocean. The old forest trees are there yearly undermined, and falling, obstruct the traveller; whilst about Poolo, the *Arow* trees are continually springing up, faster than they can be cut down or otherwise destroyed. Nature will not readily be forced from her course. The last time I vi-

Encroachment
of the sea.

* Since I formed this conjecture, I have been told that such a tradition, of no very ancient date, prevails amongst the inhabitants.

† This *Arow* tree I have reason to think the same with that which Captain Cook observed in the South Seas, and from which he called one low sandy island, the *Isle of Pines*.

fited

stood that part, there was a beautiful rising grove of Pines, establishing a possession in their proper soil. The country, as well immediately hereabout, as to a considerable distance inland, is an entire bed of sand, without any mixture of clay or mould, which I know to have been in vain sought for, many miles up the neighbouring rivers.

But upon what hypothesis can it be accounted for, that the sea should commit depredations on the northern coast, of which there are the most evident tokens, as high up at least as *Ippoo*, and probably to *Indrapour*, where the shelter of the neighbouring islands may put a stop to them, and that it should restore the land to the southward, in the manner I have described? I am aware that according to the general motion of the tides from east to west, this coast ought to receive a continual accretion, proportioned to the loss which others, exposed to the direction of this motion, must and do sustain; and it is likely that it does gain upon the whole. But the nature of my work obliges me to be more attentive to effects than causes, and to record facts, though they should clash with systems the most just in theory, and most respectable in point of authority.

The chain of islands which lie parallel with the west coast of Sumatra, may probably have once formed a part of the main, and been separated from it, either by some violent effort of nature, or the gradual attrition of the sea. I should scarcely introduce the mention of this apparently vague surmise, but that a circumstance presents itself on the coast, which affords some stronger color of proof than can be usually obtained in such instances. In many places, and particularly about *Patty* and *Laye*, we observe detached pieces of land standing singly, as islands, at the distance of one or two hundred yards from the shore, which were head-lands of points running out into the sea, within the remembrance of the inhabitants. The tops continue covered with trees or shrubs; but the sides are bare, abrupt, and perpendicular. The progress of insularisation here is obvious and incontrovertible, and why may not larger islands, at a greater distance, have been formed, in the revolution of ages, by the same accidents? The probability is heightened by the direction of the islands,

Islands near
the west coast,
probably once
joined to it.

Neas, Mantawaye, M-go, &c., the similitude of soil and productions, and the regularity of soundings between them and the main, whilst without them the depth is unfathomable.

Coral Rocks.

Where the shore is flat or shelving, the coast of Sumatra, as of all other tropical islands, is defended from the attacks of the sea by a reef or ledge of coral rock, on which the surfs exert their violence without further effect than that of keeping its surface even, and reducing to powder those beautiful excrescences and ramifications which have been so much the object of the naturalist's curiosity, and which some ingenious men, who have analysed them, contend to be the work of insects. The coral powder is in particular places accumulated on the shore in great quantities, and appears, when not closely inspected, like a fine white sand.

Surf.

The Surf (a word not to be found, I believe, in our dictionaries) is used in India, and by navigators in general, to express a peculiar swell and breaking of the sea upon the shore; the phenomena of which not having been hitherto much adverted to by writers, I shall be the more circumstantial in my description of them.

The surf forms sometimes but a single range along the shore. At other times there is a succession of two, three, four or more behind each other, extending perhaps half a mile out to sea. The number of ranges is generally in proportion to the height and violence of the surf.

The surf begins to assume its form at some distance from the place where it breaks, gradually accumulating as it moves forward, till it gains a height, in common, of fifteen to twenty feet, when it overhangs at top, and falls, like a cascade, nearly perpendicular, involving itself as it descends. The noise made by the fall is prodigious, and, during the stillness of the night, may be heard many miles up the country.

Though in the rising and formation of the surf, the water seems to have a quick progressive motion towards the land, yet a light body on the surface

surface is not carried forward, but, on the contrary, if the tide is ebbing, will recede from the shore; from which it would follow, that the motion is only propagated in the water, like sound in air, and not the mass of water protruded. A similar species of motion is observed on shaking at one end, a long cord held moderately slack, which is expressed by the word undulation. I have sometimes remarked, however, that a body which sinks deep, and takes hold of the water, will move towards shore with the course of the surf, as is perceptible in a boat landing, which shoots swiftly forward on the top of the swell, though probably it is aided by its own weight in the descent, after having reached the summit, and to that owes its velocity.

Countries where the surfs prevail, require boats of a particular construction, and the art of managing them demands the experience of a man's life. All European boats are more or less unfit, and seldom fail to occasion the sacrifice of the people on board them, in the imprudent attempts that are sometimes made to land with them on the open coast.

The force of the surf is extremely great. I have known it to overturn a country vessel in such a manner, that the top of the mast has stuck in the sand, and the lower end made its appearance through her bottom. Pieces of cloth have been taken up from a wreck, twisted and rent by its involved motion.

In some places the surfs are usually greater at high, and in others at low water, but I believe they are uniformly more violent during the spring tides.

I shall proceed to inquire into the efficient cause of the surfs. The winds have doubtless a strong relation to them. If the air was in all places of equal density, and not liable to any motion, I suppose the water would also remain perfectly at rest, and its surface even; abstracting from the general course of the tides, and the partial irregularities occasioned by the influx of rivers. The current of the air impels the

Considerations
respecting the
cause of the
Surf.

the water, and causes a swell, which is the regular rising and subsiding of the waves. This rise and fall is similar to the vibrations of a pendulum, and subject to like laws. When a wave is at its height, it descends by the force of gravity, and the momentum acquired in descending, impels the neighbouring particles, which, in their turn, rise and impel others, and thus form a succession of waves. This is the case in the open sea; but when the swell approaches the shore, and the depth of water is not in proportion to the size of the swell, the subsiding wave, instead of pressing on a body of water, which might rise in equal quantity, presses on the ground, whose reaction causes it to rush on in that manner which we call a surf. Some think that the peculiar form of it may be plainly accounted for from the shallowness and shelving of the beach. When a swell draws near to such a beach, the lower parts of the water meeting first with obstruction from the bottom, stand still, whilst the higher parts respectively move onward, by which a rolling and involved motion is produced, that is augmented by the return of the preceding swell. I object, that this solution is founded on the supposition of an actual progressive motion of the body of water in forming a surf; and that certainly not being the fact, it seems deficient. The only real progression of the water is occasioned by the perpendicular fall, after the breaking of the surf, when, from its weight, it foams on to a greater or less distance, in proportion to the height from which it fell, and the slope of the shore.

That the surfs are not, like common waves, the immediate effect of the wind, is evident from this, that the highest and most violent often happen when there is the least wind, and *vice versa*. And sometimes the surfs will continue with an equal degree of violence during a variety of weather. On the west coast of Sumatra, the highest are experienced during the S. E. monsoon, which is never attended with such gales of wind as the N. W. The motion of the surf is not observed to follow the course of the wind, but often the contrary; and when it blows hard from the land, the spray of the sea may be seen to fly in a direction opposite

opposite to the body of it, though the wind has been for many hours in the same point.

Are the surfs the effect of gales of wind at sea, which do not happen to extend to the shore, but cause a violent agitation throughout a considerable tract of the waters, which motion communicating with less distant parts, and meeting at length with resistance from the shore, occasions the sea to swell and break in the manner described? To this I object, that there seems no regular correspondence between their magnitude, and the apparent agitation of the water without them: that gales of wind, except at particular periods, are very unfrequent in the Indian Seas, where the navigation is well known to be remarkably safe, whilst the surfs are almost continual; and that gales are not found to produce this effect in other extensive oceans. The west coast of Ireland borders a sea nearly as extensive, and much more wild than the coast of Sumata, and yet there, though when it blows hard the swell on the shore is high and dangerous, is there nothing that resembles the surfs of India.

These, so general in the tropical latitudes, are, upon the most probable hypothesis I have been able to form, after long observation, and much thought and inquiry, the consequence of the trade or perpetual winds which prevail, at a distance from shore, between the parallels of thirty degrees north and south, whose uniform and invariable action causes a long and constant swell, that exists even in the calmest weather, about the line, towards which its direction tends from either side. This swell or libration of the sea, is so prodigiously long, and the sensible effect of its height, of course, so much diminished, that it is not often attended to; the gradual slope engrossing almost the whole horizon, when the eye is not very much elevated above its surface: but persons who have sailed in those parts may recollect that even when the sea is apparently the most still and level, a boat or other object at a distance from the ship, will be hidden from the sight of one looking towards it from the lower deck, for the space of minutes together. This swell, when a squall happens, or the wind freshens up, will, for the time, have other subsidiary

Probable cause
of the Surf.

subsidiary waves, on the extent of its surface, breaking often in a direction contrary to it, and which will again subside as a calm returns, without having produced on it any perceptible effect. Sumatra, though not continually exposed to the south east trade wind, is not so distant but that its influence may be presumed to extend to it, and accordingly at *Poelo Pesang* near the southern extremity of the island, a constant southerly sea is observed, even after a hard northwest wind. This incessant and powerful swell rolling in from an ocean, open even to the pole, seems an agent adequate to the prodigious effects produced on the coast; whilst its very size contributes to its being overlooked. It reconciles almost all the difficulties which the phenomena seem to present, and in particular it accounts for the decrease of the surf during the N. W. monsoon, the local wind then counteracting the operation of the general one; and it is corroborated by an observation I have made, that the surfs on the Sumatran coast ever begin to break at their southern extreme, the motion of the swell not being perpendicular to the direction of the shore. This manner of explaining their origin seems to carry much reason with it, but there occurs to me one objection which I cannot get over, and which a regard to truth obliges me to state. The trade winds are remarkably steady and uniform, and the swell generated by them is the same. The surfs are much the reverse, seldom persevering for two days in the same degree of violence; often mountains high in the morning, and nearly subsided by night. How comes an uniform cause to produce effects so unsteady, unless by the intervention of secondary causes, whose nature and operation we are unacquainted with?

It is clear to me that the surfs, as above described, are peculiar to those climates which lie within the remoter limits of the trade winds, though in higher latitudes large swells and irregular breakings of the sea are to be met with after boisterous weather. Possibly the following causes may be judged to conspire, with that I have already specified, towards occasioning this distinction. The former region being exposed to the immediate influence of the two great luminaries, the water, from their direct impulse, is liable to more violent agitation than nearer the poles,

poles, where their power is felt only by indirect communication. The equatorial parts of the earth performing their diurnal revolution with greater velocity than the rest, a larger circle being described in the same time, the waters thereabout, from the stronger centrifugal force, may be supposed more buoyant; to feel less restraint from the sluggish principle of matter; to have less gravity; and therefore to be more obedient to external impulses of every kind, whether from the winds or any other cause.

The spring tides on the west coast of Sumatra are estimated to rise in general no more than four feet, as little perhaps as in any part of the globe, owing to its open, unconfined situation, which prevents any accumulation of the tide, as is the case in narrow seas. It is always high water there when the moon is in the horizon, and consequently at six o'clock nearly, on the days of conjunction and opposition throughout the year, in parts not far remote from the equator.* This, according to Newton's theory, is about three hours later than the uninterrupted course of nature; owing to the obvious impediment the waters meet with in revolving from the eastward. Tides.

* Owing to this uniformity it becomes an easy matter for the natives to ascertain the height of the tide at any hour that the moon is visible. Whilst she appears to ascend, the water falls, and *vice versa*; the lowest of the ebb happening when she is in her meridian. The rule for calculating the tides is rendered also to Europeans more simple and practical from the same cause. There only needs to add together the epoch, number of the month, and day of the month; the sum of which, if under thirty, gives the moon's age—the excess, if over. Allow forty-eight minutes for each day, or which is the same, take four-fifths of the age, and it will give you the number of hours after six o'clock, at which high water happens. A readiness at this calculation is particularly useful in a country where the sea beach is the general road for travelling.

*Distinction of Inhabitants.—Rejangs chosen for General Description.
—Persons and Complexion.—Clothing and Ornaments.*

General account of the inhabitants.

HAVING exhibited a general view of the island, as it is in the hands of nature, I shall now proceed to a description of the people who inhabit and cultivate it, and shall endeavor to distinguish the several species or classes of them, in such a manner as may best tend to perspicuity, and to furnish clear ideas of the matter.

Various modes of division.

The most obvious division, and which has been usually made by the writers of voyages, is that of *Mahometan* inhabitants of the sea coast, and *Pagans* of the inland country. This division, though not without its degree of propriety, is vague and imperfect; not only because each description of people differ considerably among themselves, but that the inland inhabitants are, in some places, Mahometans, and those of the coast, in others, what they term Pagans. It is not unusual with persons who have not resided in this part of the east, to call the inhabitants of the islands indiscriminately by the name of *Malays*. This is a more considerable error, and productive of greater confusion than the former. By attempting to reduce things to heads too general, we defeat the very end we propose to ourselves in defining them at all: we create obscurity where we wish to throw light. On the other hand, to attempt enumerating and distinguishing the variety, almost endless, of petty sovereignties and nations, into which this island is divided, many of which differ nothing in person or manners from their neighbours, would be a task both insurmountable and useless. I shall aim at steering a middle course, and accordingly shall treat of the inhabitants of Sumatra under the following summary distinctions, taking occasion as it may offer to mention the principal subdivisions. And first, it is proper to distinguish the empire of

of *Menangkabow* and the *Malays*; in the next place the *Achenese*; then the *Battas*; the *Rejangs*; and next to them the *Lampoons*.*

Menangkabow being the principal sovereignty of the island, which formerly comprehended the whole, and still receives a shadow of homage from the most powerful of the other kingdoms, which have sprung up from its ruins, would seem to claim a right to precedence in description, but I have a sufficient reason for deferring it to a subsequent part of my work; which is, that the people of this empire, by their conversion to

* Attempts to ascertain from whence the island of Sumatra was originally peopled must rest upon mere conjecture. The adjacent peninsula presents the most obvious source of population, and it is accordingly said that Malayan emigrants supplied the Archipelago with inhabitants: but no argument, except that of vicinity, can be produced in support of this, not unlaudable, opinion. The Malays, now so called, are in comparison of the internal Sumatrans, but as a people of yesterday; and though they have spread their language and manners far and wide, since the foundation of Malacca in the thirteenth century, they are considered as intruders only, among the aboriginal people of the eastern islands. I have elsewhere remarked, that one general language prevailed (however mutilated and changed in the course of time) throughout all this portion of the world, from Madagascar to the most distant discoveries eastward, of which the Malay is a dialect, much corrupted, or refined, by a mixture of other tongues. This very extensive similarity of language indicates a common origin of the inhabitants, but the circumstances and progress of their separation are wrapped in the darkest veil of obscurity.

In the course of my inquiries amongst the natives, concerning the aborigines of the island, I have been informed of two different species of people dispersed in the woods, and avoiding all communication with the other inhabitants. These they call *Orang Cooboo*, and *Orang Googoo*. The former are said to be pretty numerous, especially in that part of the country which lies between *Palembang* and *Jambee*. Some have at times been caught and kept as slaves in *Laboon*, and a man of that place is now married to a tolerably handsome *Cooboo* girl, who was carried off by a party that discovered their huts. They have a language quite peculiar to themselves, and they eat promiscuously whatever the woods afford, as deer, elephant, rhinoceros, wild hog, snakes or monkeys. The *Googoo* are much scarcer than these, differing in little but the use of speech, from the *Orang Outan* of Borneo; their bodies being covered with long hair. There have not been above two or three instances of their being met with by the people of *Laboon* (from whom my information is derived), and one of these was entrapped many years ago, in much the same manner as the carpenter in Pilpay's Fables caught the monkey. He had children by a *Laboon* woman, which also were more hairy than the common race; but the third generation are not to be distinguished from others. The reader will bestow what measure of faith he thinks due, on this relation, the veracity of which I do not pretend to vouch for. It has probably some foundation in truth, but is exaggerated in the circumstances.

Malays.

Mahometanism, and consequent change of manners, have lost in a great degree the genuine Sumatran character, which is the immediate object of my investigation. They are distinguished by the appellation of *Malayo* by the rest of the islanders, which, though originally and strictly denoting an inhabitant of the neighbouring peninsula, is now understood to mean a Muffulman, speaking the Malay language, and belonging, by descent at least, to the kingdom of Menangkabow, or to that part of the sea coast bordering on it, called *Atay Angin*, which extends from thirty-two minutes N. to forty minutes S. latitude. Hereabout a colony from the peninsula evidently settled, from whence their descendants emigrating, took up their residence at different sea ports on the southern coast, as far down as Bencoolen; introduced their language, and scattered every where the seeds of their religion, which, as they shot up, either withered, or flourished more or less according to the aptness of the soil, and the pains of the laborer. Beyond Bencoolen there are none to be met with, excepting such as have been drawn thither by, and are in the pay of the Europeans. On the eastern side of the island they are settled at the entrance of almost all the navigable rivers, where they more conveniently indulge their natural bent for trade and piracy. It must be observed that the term *Malay*, in common speech, like that of *Moor* on the west of India, is almost synonymous with Mahometan. When the Sumatrans, or natives of any of the eastern islands, learn to read the Arabic character, and submit to circumcision, they are said to become Malays (*munjaddee Malayo*.) But this is not a proper or accurate mode of speaking. The sultan of Anac Soongey, it is true, ambitious of imitating the sultan of Menangkabow, styles himself and subjects, Malays; yet his neighbour the Pangeran of Soongey Lamo, chief of the Rejangs, who is equally an independent prince, and very enlightened Mahometan, will not allow himself to be other than an original Sumatran.* Thus much it was necessary I should say, in order to avoid ambiguity concerning

* He seemed offended at my supposing him a Malayman in a conversation I once had with him on the subject, and replied with some emotion, "*Malayo tedab, Sir; orang ooloo betool jayo.*" "No Malay, Sir; I am a genuine, original countryman." The two languages he writes and talks with equal facility, but the Rejang he esteems his mother tongue.

the

the Malays, of whom a more particular account will be given hereafter.

As the most dissimilar among the other classes into which I have divided the inhabitants, must of course have very many points of mutual resemblance, and many of their habits, customs and ceremonies, in common, it becomes expedient, in order to avoid a troublesome and useless repetition, to single out one class from among them, whose manners shall undergo a particular and complete investigation, and serve as a standard for the whole; the deviation from which, in the other classes, shall afterwards be pointed out, and the most singular and striking usages peculiar to each, superadded. Various circumstances induce me, on this occasion, to give the preference to the Rejangs, though a nation of but small account in the political scale of the island. They are placed in what may be called a central situation, not geographically, but with respect to the encroachments of foreign manners and opinions, introduced by the Malays, from the north, and Javans from the south; which gives them a claim to originality, superior to that of most others. They are a people whose form of government and whose laws extend, with very little variation, over a considerable part of the island, and principally that portion where the connexions of the English lie. There are traditions of their having formerly sent forth colonies to the southward; and in the country of Passummah, the site of their villages is still pointed out; which would prove that they have formerly been of more consideration than they can boast at present. They have a proper language, and a perfect written character, that is become of general use in many remote districts. These advantages point out the Rejang people as an eligible standard of description; and a motive equally strong that induces me to adopt them as such, is, that my situation and connexions on the island, led me to a more intimate and minute acquaintance with their laws and manners, than with those of any other class. I must premise however that the Malay customs having made their way, in a greater or less degree, to every part of Sumatra, it will be totally impossible to discriminate with entire accuracy, those which are original, from

Nation of the Rejangs adopted as a standard of description.

from those which are borrowed: and of course, what I shall say of the Rejangs, will apply for the most part, not only to the Sumatrans in general, but may sometimes be, in strictness, proper to the Malays alone, and by them taught to the higher rank of country people.

Situation of
the Rejang
country.

The country of the *Rejangs* is divided, to the north west, from the kingdom of *Anac Soongey* (of which *Moco Moco* is the capital) by the small river of *Oori*, near that of *Cattown*; which last, with the district of *Laboon* on its banks, bounds it on the north or inland side. The country of *Moofee*, where *Palembang* river takes its rise, forms its limit to the eastward. *Bencoolen* river, precisely speaking, confines it on the south east; though the inhabitants of the district called *Lemba*, extending from thence to *Silehar*, are entirely the same people, in manners and language. The principal rivers, besides those already mentioned, are *Laye*, *Pally*, and *Soongeylamo*; on all of which the English have factories, the resident or chief being stationed at *Laye*.

Persons of the
inhabitants.

The persons of the inhabitants of the island, though differing considerably in districts remote from each other, may in general be comprehended in the following description; excepting the Achenese, whose commixture with the Moors of the west of India, has distinguished them from the other Sumatrans.

General de-
scription.

They are rather below the middle stature; their bulk is in proportion; their limbs are for the most part slight, but well shaped, and particularly small at the wrists and ankles. Upon the whole they are gracefully formed, and I scarcely recollect to have ever seen one deformed person, of the natives.* The women, however, have the preposterous custom of flattening the noses, and compressing the heads of children newly

* Ghirardini, an Italian painter, who touched at Sumatra on his way to China in 1698, observes of the Malays,

Son di persona tanto ben formata

Quanto mai finger san pittori industri.

He speaks in high terms of the country, as being beautifully picturesque,

born,

born, whilst the skull is yet cartilaginous, which increases their natural tendency to that shape. I could never trace the origin of the practice or learn any other reason for moulding the features to this uncouth appearance, but that it was an improvement of beauty in their estimation. Captain Cook takes notice of a similar operation at the island of *Ulietea*. They likewise pull out the ears of infants, to make them stand erect from the head. Their eyes are uniformly dark and clear, and among some, especially the southern women, bear a strong resemblance to the Chinese, in the peculiarity of formation so generally observed of that people. Their hair is strong, and of a shining black; the improvement of both which qualities it probably owes, in great measure, to the constant and early use of coconut oil, with which they keep it moist. The men frequently cut their hair short, not appearing to take any pride in it; the women encourage theirs to a considerable length, and I have known many instances of its reaching the ground. The men are beardless, and have chins so remarkably smooth, that were it not for the Malay priests displaying a little tuft, we should be apt to conclude that nature had refused them this token of manhood. It is the same in respect to other parts of the body, with both sexes; and this particular attention to their persons, they esteem a point of delicacy, and the contrary an unpardonable neglect. The boys, as they approach to the age of puberty, rub their chins, upper lips, and those parts of the body that are subject to superfluous hair, with *cbunam*, (quick lime) especially of shells, which destroys the roots of the incipient beard. The few pilæ that afterwards appear, are plucked out from time to time with tweezers, which they always carry about them for that purpose. Were it not for the numerous and very respectable authorities, from which we are assured that the natives of America are naturally beardless, I should think that the common opinion on that subject had been rashly adopted, and that their appearing thus at a mature age, was only the consequence of an early practice, similar to that observed among the Sumatrans. Even now I must confess that it would remove some small degree of doubt from

from my mind, could it be ascertained that no such custom prevails.* Their complexion is properly yellow, wanting the red tinge that constitutes a tawny or copper color. They are in general lighter than the Mestees, or half breed, of the rest of India; those of the superior class, who are not exposed to the rays of the sun, and particularly their women of rank, approaching to a great degree of fairness. Did beauty consist in this one quality, some of them would surpass our brunettes in Europe. The major part of the females are ugly, and many of them even to disgust, yet there are those among them, whose appearance is strikingly beautiful; whatever composition of person, features, and complexion, that sentiment may be the result of.

Color not
ascribable to
climate.

The fairness of the Sumatrans, comparatively with other Indians, situated as they are, under a perpendicular sun, where no season of the year affords an alternative of cold, is, I think, an irrefragable proof, that the difference of color in the various inhabitants of the earth, is not the immediate effect of climate. The children of Europeans born in this island are as fair, and perhaps in general fairer, than those born in the country of their parents. I have observed the same of the second generation, where a mixture with the people of the country has been avoided. On the other hand, the offspring and all the descendants of the Guinea and other African slaves imported there, continue in the last instance as perfectly black as in the original stock. I do not mean to enter into the merits of the question which naturally connects with these observations; but shall only remark, that the fallow and adust countenances, so commonly acquired by Europeans who have long resided in hot climates, are more ascribable to the effect of bilious distempers, which almost all are subject to in a greater or less degree, than of their exposure to the influence of the weather, which few but seafaring people are

* It is allowed by travellers that the Patagonians have tufts of hair on the upper lip and chin. Captain Carver says, that among the tribes he visited, the people made a regular practice of eradicating their beards with pincers. At Brussels is preserved, along with a variety of ancient and curious suits of armour, that of Montezuma king of Mexico, of which the vizor, or mask for the face, has remarkably large whiskers; an ornament which those Americans could not have imitated, unless nature had presented them with the model.

liable to, and of which the impreſſion is ſeldom permanent. From this circumſtance I have been led to conjecture that the general diſparity of complexions in different nations, might *poſſibly* be owing to the more or leſs copious ſecretion, or redundancy of that juice, rendering the ſkin more or leſs dark according to the qualities of the bile prevailing in the conſtitutions of each. But I fear ſuch an hypotheſis would not ſtand the teſt of experiment, as it muſt follow, that upon diſſection, the contents of a negro's gall bladder, or at leaſt the extravafated bile, ſhould uniformly be found black. Perſons ſkilled in anatomy will determine whether it is poſſible that the qualities of any animal ſecretion can ſo far affect the frame, as to render their conſequences liable to be tranſmitted to poſterity in their full force.

The ſmall ſize of the inhabitants, and eſpecially of the women, may be in ſome meaſure owing to the early communication between the ſexes; though, as the inclinations which lead to this intercourſe are prompted here by nature ſooner than in cold climates, it is not unfair to ſuppoſe that being proportioned to the period of maturity, this is alſo ſooner attained, and conſequently that the earlier ceſſation of growth of theſe people, is agreeable to the laws of their conſtitution, and not occaſioned by a premature and irregular appetite.

Perſons of ſuperior rank encourage the growth of their hand-nails, particularly thoſe of the fore and little fingers, to an extraordinary length; frequently tinging them red, with the expreſſed juice of a ſhrub called *œni*; as they do the nails of their feet alſo, to which, being always uncovered, they pay as much attention as to their hands. The hands of the natives, and even of the half breed, are always cold to the touch; which I cannot account for otherwiſe than by a ſuppoſition, that from the leſs degree of elasticity in the ſolids, occaſioned by the heat of the climate, the internal action of the body, by which the fluids are put in motion, is leſs vigorous, the circulation is proportionably languid, and of courſe the diminſhed effect is moſt perceptible in the extremities, and a coldneſs there is the natural conſequence.

Hill people
subject to wens

The natives of the hills, through the whole extent of the island, are subject to those monstrous wens from the throat, which have been observed of the Vallaisans, and the inhabitants of other mountainous districts in Europe. It has been usual to attribute this affection to the badness, thawed state, mineral quality, or other peculiarity of the waters; many skilful men having applied themselves to the investigation of the subject. My experience enables me to pronounce without hesitation, that the disorder, for such it is, though it appears here to mark a distinct race of people (*orang goenong*), is immediately connected with the hilliness of the country, and of course, if the circumstances of the water they use contribute thereto, it must be only so far as the nature of the water is affected by the inequality or height of the land. But on Sumatra neither snow nor other congelation is ever produced, which militates against the most plausible conjecture that has been adopted concerning the Alpine goitres. From every research that I have been enabled to make, I think I have reason to conclude, that the complaint is owing, among the Sumatrans, to the fogginess of the air in the vallies between the high mountains, where, and not on the summits, the natives of these parts reside. I before remarked, that between the ranges of hills, the *caboot* or dense mist was visible for several hours every morning; rising in a thick, opaque and well defined body, with the sun, and seldom quite dispersed till after noon. This phaenomenon, as well as that of the wens, being peculiar to the regions of the hills, affords a presumption that they may be connected; exclusive of the natural probability that a cold vapor, gross to an uncommon degree, and continually enveloping the habitations, should affect with tumors the throats of the inhabitants. I cannot pretend to say how far this solution may apply to the case of the goitres, but I recollect it to have been mentioned, that the only method of curing these people, is by removing them from the vallies to the clear and pure air on the tops of the hills; which seems to indicate a similar source of the distemper with what I have pointed out. The Sumatrans do not appear to attempt any remedy for it, the wens being consistent with the highest health in other respects.

The

The personal difference between the Malays of the coast, and the country inhabitants, is not so strongly marked but that it requires some experience to distinguish them. The latter, however, possess an evident superiority in point of size and strength, and are fairer complexioned, which they probably owe to their situation, where the atmosphere is colder; and it is generally observed, that people living near the sea shore, and especially when accustomed to navigation, are darker than their inland neighbours. Some attribute the disparity in constitutional vigor, to the more frequent use of opium among the Malays, which is supposed to debilitate the frame; but I have noted that the Leemoon and Batang Affy gold traders, who are a colony of that race settled in the heart of the island, and who cannot exist a day without opium, are remarkably hale and stout; which I have known to be observed with a degree of envy by the opium-smokers of our settlements. The inhabitants of Passummah also, are described as being more robust in their persons, than the planters of the low country.

Difference in
person between
Malays and
other Suma-
trans.

The original clothing of the Sumatrans is the same with that found by navigators among the inhabitants of the South Sea islands, and now generally called by the name of Otāheitean cloth. It is still used among the Rejangs for their working dress, and I have one in my possession, procured from these people, consisting of a jacket, short drawers, and a cap for the head. This is the inner bark of a certain species of tree, beat out to the degree of fineness required; approaching the more to perfection, as it resembles the softer kind of leather, some being nearly equal to the most delicate kid-skin; in which character it somewhat differs from the South Sea cloth, as that bears a resemblance rather to paper, or to the manufacture of the loom. The country people now conform in a great measure to the dress of the Malays, which I shall therefore describe in this place, observing that much more simplicity still prevails among the former, who look upon the others as coxcombs who lay out all their substance on their backs, whilst, in their turns, they are regarded by the Malays with contempt, as unpolished rustics.

Clothing.

Man's dress.

A man's dress consists of the following parts. A close waistcoat, without sleeves, but having a neck like a shirt, buttoned close up to the top, with buttons, often, of gold filagree. This is peculiar to the Malays. Over this they wear the *badjoo*, which resembles a morning gown, open at the neck, but fastened close at the wrists and half way up the arm, with nine buttons to each sleeve. The *badjoo* worn by young men is open in front no farther down than the bosom, and reaches no lower than the waist, whereas the others hang loose to the knees, and sometimes to the ancles. They are made usually of blue or white cotton cloth; for the better sort, of chintz, and for great men, of flowered silks. The *cayen sarrong* is not unlike a Scots highlander's plaid in appearance, being a piece of party colored cloth about six or eight feet long, and three or four wide, sewed together at the ends; forming, as some writers have described it, a wide sack without a bottom. This is sometimes gathered up, and slung over the shoulder like a sash, or else folded and tucked about the waist and hips; and in full dress it is bound on by the belt of the *creese* (dagger), which is of crimson silk, and wraps several times round the body, with a loop at the end, in which the sheath of the *creese* hangs. They wear short drawers, reaching half way down the thigh, generally of red or yellow taffeta. There is no covering to their legs or feet. Round their heads they fasten, in a particular manner, a fine, colored handkerchief, so as to resemble a small turban; the country people usually twisting a piece of white or blue cloth for this purpose. The crown of their head remains uncovered, except on journies, when they wear a *toodong* or umbrella-hat, which completely screens them from the weather.

Woman's dress.

The women have a kind of bodice, or short waistcoat rather, that defends the breasts, and reaches to the hips. The *cayen sarrong*, before described, comes up as high as the armpits, and extends to the feet, being kept on simply by folding and tucking it over, at the breast, except when the *tallee-pending*, or zone, is worn about the waist, which forms an additional and necessary security. This is usually of embroidered cloth, and sometimes a plate of gold or silver, about two inches broad, fastening

fastening in the front with a large clasp of filagree or chased work, with some kind of precious stone, or imitation of such, in the center. The badjoo, or upper gown, differs little from that of the men, buttoning in the same manner at the wrists. A piece of fine, thin, blue cotton cloth, about five feet long, and worked or fringed at each end, called a *salendang*, is thrown across the back of the neck, and hangs down before; serving also the purpose of a veil to the women of rank when they walk abroad. The handkerchief is carried, either folded small in the hand, or at length over the shoulder. There are two modes of dressing the hair, one termed *coondye*, and the other *sangoll*. The first resembles much the fashion in which we see the Chinese women represented in paintings, and which I conclude they borrowed from thence, where the hair is wound circularly over the center of the head, and fastened with a silver bodkin or pin. In the other mode, which is more general, they give the hair a single turn as it hangs behind, and then doubling it up, they pass it crosswise, under a few hairs separated from the rest, on the back of the head, for that purpose. A comb, often of tortoiseshell, and sometimes filagreed, helps to prevent it from falling down. The hair of the front, and of all parts of the head, is of the same length, and when loose, hangs together behind, with most of the women, in very great quantity. It is kept moist with oil, commonly of the coco-nut, but those persons who can afford it make use of an empyreumatic oil extracted from gum Benjamin, as a grateful perfume. They wear no covering, except ornaments of flowers, which, on particular occasions, are the work of much labor and ingenuity. The head dresses of the dancing girls by profession, who are usually Javans, are very artificially wrought, and as high as any modern English lady's cap, yielding only to the feathered plumes of the year 1777. It is impossible to describe in words these intricate and fanciful matters, so as to convey a just idea of them. The flowers worn in undress are, for the most part, strung in wreaths, and have a very neat and pretty effect, without any degree of gaudiness, being usually white or pale yellow, small, and frequently only half blown. Those generally chosen for these occasions, are the *boongo-tanjong* and *boongo-meloor*: the *boongo-choompaco* is used to give the hair a fragrance, but is concealed:

concealed from the sight. They sometimes combine a variety of flowers in such a manner as to appear like one, and fix them on a single stalk; but these, being more formal, are less elegant, than the wreaths.

Distinguishing
ornaments of
virgins.

Among the country people, particularly in the southern countries, the virgins (*orang gaddees*, or goddesses, as it is usually pronounced) are distinguished by a fillet which goes across the front of the hair, and fastens behind. This is commonly a thin plate of silver, about half an inch broad: those of the first rank have it of gold, and those of the lowest class have their fillet of the leaf of the *neepab* tree. Besides this peculiar ornament, their state of pucelage is denoted by their having rings or bracelets of silver or gold on their wrists. Strings of coins round the neck are universally worn by children, and the females, before they are of an age to be clothed, have, what may not be inaptly termed, a modesty-piece, being a plate of silver in the shape of a heart, hung before by a chain of the same metal, passing round the waist. The young women in the country villages manufacture themselves the cloth that constitutes the principal, and often the only part of their dress, or the *cayen sarrong*, and this reaches from the breast no lower than the knees. Those worn by the Malay women, and men also, come from the Buggies islands to the eastward, and with them extend as low as the feet; but here, as in other instances, the more scrupulous attention to appearances does not accompany the superior degree of real modesty.

Mode of filing
teeth.

Both sexes have the extraordinary custom of filing and otherwise disfiguring their teeth, which are naturally very white and beautiful, from the simplicity of their food. For a file, they make use of a small whetstone, and the patients lie on their back during the operation. Many, particularly the women of the Lampoon country, have their teeth rubbed down quite even with the gums; others have them formed in points, and some file off no more than the outer coat and extremities, in order that they may the better receive and retain the jetty blackness, with which they almost universally adorn them. The black used on these occasions is the empyreumatic oil of the coco-nut shell. When this is not applied, the
filing

S U M A T R A

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filing does not, by destroying what we term the enamel, diminish the whiteness of the teeth. The great men sometimes set theirs in gold, by casing, with a plate of that metal, the under row; and this ornament, contrasted with the black dye, has, by lamp or candle light, a very splendid effect. It is sometimes indented to the shape of the teeth, but more usually quite plain. They do not remove it either to eat or sleep.

At the age of about eight or nine, they bore the ears of the female children; which is a ceremony that must necessarily precede their marriage. This they call *betenday*, as they call filing their teeth *bedabong*; both which operations are regarded in the family, as the occasions of a festival. They do not here, as in some of the adjacent islands, (of *Near* in particular) increase the aperture of the ear to a monstrous size, so as in many instances to be large enough to admit the hand, the lower parts being stretched till they touch the shoulders. Their ear-rings are mostly of gold filagree, fastening, not with a clasp, but in the manner of studs.

Villages.

Villages.—Buildings.—Domestic Utensils.—Food:

I SHALL now attempt a description of the villages and buildings of the Sumatrans, and proceed to their domestic habits of œconomy, and those simple arts, on which the procuring of their food and other necessaries depends. These are not among the least interesting objects of philosophical speculation. In proportion as the arts in use with any people are connected with the primary demands of nature, they carry the greater likelihood of originality, because those demands must have been administered to, from a period coëval with the existence of the people themselves. Or if complete originality be regarded as a visionary idea, engendered from ignorance and the obscurity of remote events, such arts must be allowed to have the fairest claim to antiquity at least. Arts of accommodation, and more especially of luxury, are commonly the effect of imitation, and suggested by the improvements of other nations, which have made greater advances towards civilization. These afford less striking and characteristic features, in delineating the picture of mankind, and though they may add to the beauty, diminish from the genuineness of the piece. We must not look for unequivocal generic marks, where the breed, in order to mend it, has been crossed by a foreign mixture. All the arts of primary necessity are comprehended within two distinctions: those which protect us from the inclemency of the weather and other outward accidents; and those which are employed in securing the means of subsistence. Both are immediately essential to the continuance of life, and man is involuntarily and immediately prompted to exercise them, by the urgent calls of nature, even in the merest possible state of savage and uncultivated existence. In climates like that of Sumatra, this impulse extends not far. The human machine is kept going with small effort, in so favorable a medium. The spring of importunate necessity there soon loses its force, and consequently the wheels of invention that depend upon it, fail to perform more than a few

few simple revolutions. In regions less mild this original motive to industry and ingenuity, carries men to greater lengths, in the application of arts to the occasions of life; and which of course, in an equal space of time, attain to greater perfection, than among the inhabitants of the tropical latitudes, who find their immediate wants supplied with facility, and beyond what these require, prefer simple inaction, to convenience procured by labor. This consideration may perhaps tend to reconcile the high antiquity universally allowed to Asiatic nations, with the limited progress of arts and sciences among them; in which they are manifestly surpassed by people who, compared with them, are but of very recent date.

The Sumatrans, however, in the construction of their habitations, have stepped many degrees beyond those rude contrivances, which writers describe the inhabitants of some other Indian countries to have been contented with adopting, in order to screen themselves from the immediate influence of surrounding elements. Their houses are not only permanent, but convenient, and are built in the vicinity of each other, that they may enjoy the advantages of mutual assistance and protection, resulting from a state of society.

The *doosans* or villages, for the small number of inhabitants assembled in each does not entitle them to the appellations of towns, are always situated on the banks of a river or lake, for the convenience of bathing, and of transporting goods. An eminence difficult of ascent, is usually made choice of, for security. The access to them is by footways, narrow and winding, of which there are seldom more than two; one to the country, and the other to the water; the latter in most places so steep, as to render it necessary to cut steps in the cliff or rock. The doosans being surrounded with abundance of fruit trees, some of considerable height, as the *doorean*, *coco* and *betel-nut*, and the neighbouring country, for a little space about, being in some degree cleared of wood, for the rice and pepper plantations; they strike the eye at a distance as clumps merely, exhibiting no appearance of a town or any place

of habitation. The rows of houses form commonly a quadrangle, with passages or lanes at intervals between the buildings, where, in the more considerable villages, live the lower class of inhabitants, and where also their paddee-houses or granaries are erected. In the middle of the square stands the *bali*, or town hall, a room about fifty to an hundred feet long, and twenty or thirty wide, without division, and open at the sides, excepting when on particular occasions it is hung with mats or chintz.

Buildings.

In their buildings neither stone, brick, nor clay, are ever made use of, which is the case in most countries where timber abounds, and where the warmth of the climate renders the free admission of air, a matter rather to be desired, than guarded against : but in Sumatra the frequency of earthquakes is alone sufficient to have prevented the natives from adopting a substantial mode of building. The frames of the houses are of wood, the underplate resting on pillars of about six or eight feet in height, which have a sort of capital, but no base, and are wider at top than at bottom. The people appear to have no idea of architecture as a science, though much ingenuity is often shewn in the manner of working up their materials, and they have, the Malays at least, technical terms corresponding to all those employed by our house carpenters. Their conception of proportions is extremely rude, often leaving those parts of a frame which have the greatest bearing, with the weakest support, and lavishing strength upon inadequate pressure. For the floorings they lay whole *bamboos* (a well known species of large cane) of four or five inches diameter, close to each other, and fasten them at the ends to the timbers. Across these are laid laths of split bamboo, about an inch wide and of the length of the room, which are tied down with filaments of the *rattan* ; and over these are usually spread mats of different kinds. This sort of flooring has an elasticity, alarming to strangers when they first tread on it. The sides of the houses are generally closed in with *paloopo*, which is the bamboo half split, opened, and rendered flat by notching the circular joints within, and laying it to dry in the sun, pressed down with weights. This is sometimes nailed on to the upright
timbers

timbers or bamboos, but in the country parts, it is more commonly interwoven, or matted, in breadths of six inches, and a piece, or sheet, formed at once of the size required. In some places they use for the same purpose the *coolitcayo*, or coolicoy, as it is pronounced by the Europeans, who employ it on board ship, as dunnage, in pepper and other cargos. This is a bark procured from some particular trees, of which the *boonoot* and *eeboo* are the most common. When they prepare to take it, the outer rind is first torn or cut away; the inner, which affords the material, is then marked out with a *prang*, *pateel*, or other tool, to the size required, which is uniformly three cubits by one; it is afterwards beaten for some time with a heavy stick, to loosen it from the stem, and being peeled off, is laid in the sun to dry, care being taken to prevent its warping. The thicker or thinner sorts of the same species of *coolitcayo*, owe their difference to their being taken nearer to, or farther from, the root. That which is used in building has nearly the texture and hardness of wood. The pliable and delicate bark of which clothing is made, is procured from a tree called *calawee*, a bastard species of the bread-fruit.

The most general mode of covering houses is with the *allap*, which is the leaf of a species of palm called *neepab*. These, previous to their being laid on, are formed into sheets of about five feet long, and as deep as the length of the leaf will admit; they are then disposed on the roof, so as that one sheet shall lap over the other, and are tied to the bamboos which serve for rafters. There are various other kinds of covering used. The *coolitcayo*, before described, is sometimes employed for this purpose: the *galeompye*—this is a thatch of narrow, split bamboos, six feet in length, placed in regular layers, each reaching within two feet of the extremity of that beneath it, by which a treble covering is formed: *ejoo*—this is a vegetable production, so nearly resembling horse hair as scarcely to be distinguished from it. It envelopes the stem of that species of palm called *ānou*, from which the best toddy or palm wine is procured, and is employed by the natives for a great variety of purposes. It is bound on as a thatch, in the manner we do straw, and

not unfrequently over the galoompye; in which case the roof is so durable as never to require renewal, the ejoo being of all vegetable substances the least prone to decay, and for this reason it is a common practice to wrap a quantity of it round the ends of timbers or posts which are to be fixed in the ground. I saw a house about twenty miles up Manna river, belonging to Dupatty Bandar Augoong, the roof of which was of fifty years standing. The larger houses have three pitches in the roof; the middle one, under which the door is placed, being much lower than the other two. In smaller houses there are but two pitches which are always of unequal height, and the entrance is in the smaller, which covers a kind of hall, or cooking room.

There is another kind of house, erected mostly for a temporary purpose, the roof of which is flat, and is covered in a very uncommon, simple, and ingenious manner. Large, straight bamboos are cut of a length sufficient to lie across the house, and being split exactly in two, and the joints knocked out, they are disposed in an order alternately concave and convex, in such manner that each of the latter falls into two of the former which lie next it, something like the laying of pantiles. The convex bamboos perfectly defend the building from rain, and the concave serve as gutters to carry the water off.*

The mode of ascent to the houses is by a piece of timber, or stout bamboo cut in notches, which latter an European cannot avail himself of, especially as the precaution is seldom taken of binding them fast. These are the wonderful light scaling ladders, which the old Portuguese writers described to have been used by the people of Achcen in their wars with their nation. It is probable that the apprehension of danger from the wild beasts, caused them to adopt and continue this rude expedient, in preference to more regular and commodious steps. The detached buildings in the country, near to their plantations, called *tal-*

* I find that the original inhabitants of the Philippine islands covered their buildings in the same manner.

longs, they raise to the height of ten or twelve feet from the ground, and make a practice of taking up their ladder at night, to secure themselves from the destructive ravages of the tigers. I have been assured, but will not pledge myself for the truth of the story, that an elephant, attempting to pass under one of these houses, which stand on four or six posts, stuck by the way, but disdaining to retreat, carried it, with the family it contained, on his back, to the distance of several miles.

In the buildings of the doosoons, particularly where the most respectable families reside, the wood-work in front is carved, in the style of bas-relief, into a variety of uncouth ornaments, and grotesque figures, not much unlike the Egyptian hieroglyphics, but certainly without any mystic or historical allusion.

The furniture of their houses, corresponding with their manner of living, is very simple, and consists of but few articles. Their bed is a mat, usually of fine texture, and manufactured for the purpose, with a number of pillows, worked at the ends, and adorned with a shining substance that resembles foil. A sort of canopy or valance, formed of various colored cloths, hangs over head. Instead of tables, they have what resemble large wooden salvers, with feet, called *doolang*; round each of which three or four persons dispose themselves; and on these are laid the *tallams* or brass waiters, which hold the cups that contain their curry, and plaintain leaves, or matted vessels, filled with rice. Their mode of sitting is not cross-legged, as the inhabitants of Turkey, and our taylors, use, but either on the haunches, or on the left side, supported by the left hand, with the legs tucked in on the right side; leaving that hand at liberty, which they always, from motives of delicacy, scrupulously eat with; the left being reserved for less cleanly offices. Neither knives, spoons, nor any substitutes for them, are employed; they take up the rice, and other victuals, between their thumb and fingers, and dexterously throw it into the mouth by the action of the thumb, dipping frequently their hands in water as they eat.

Furniture.

They

Utenſils.

They have a little coarſe china, imported by the Bugguets praws, which is held a matter of luxury. In cooking they employ a kind of iron veſſel, well known in India by the name of *quallæ* or tauch, reſembling in ſhape the pans uſed in ſome of our manufactures, having the rim wide, and bottom narrow. Theſe are likewise brought from the eaſtward. The *preco* and *belango*, ſpecies of earthen pipkins, are in more common uſe, being made in ſmall quantities in different parts of the iſland, particularly in Lampoon, where they give them a fort of glazing; but the greater number of them are imported from Bantam. The original Sumatran veſſel for boiling rice, and which is ſtill much uſed for that purpoſe, is the *bamboo*; that material of general utility, with which bountiful nature has ſupplied an indolent people. By the time the rice is dreſſed, the utenſil is nearly deſtroyed by the fire, but reſiſts the flame ſo long as there is moiſture within.

Fires.

Fire being wanted among theſe people but occaſionally, and only when they cook their victuals, there is not much attention paid, in their buildings, to provide conveniencies for it. Their houſes have no chimnies, and their fire-places are no more than a few looſe bricks, or ſtones, diſpoſed in a temporary manner, and frequently on the landing-place before the doors. The fuel made uſe of is wood alone; the coal which the iſland produces never being converted by the inhabitants to that purpoſe. The flint and ſteel for ſtriking fire are common in the country, but it is a practice certainly borrowed from ſome other people, as that ſpecies of ſtone is not, I believe, a native of the ſoil. Theſe generally form part of their travelling apparatus, and eſpecially with thoſe men called *reeſows* (ſpendthrifts that turn freebooters), who find themſelves often obliged to take up their habitation in the woods, or in deſerted houſes. But they alſo frequently kindle fire from the friction of two ſticks. They chuſe a piece of dry, porous wood, and cutting ſmooth a ſpot of it, lay it in an horizontal direction. They then apply a ſmaller piece, of a harder ſubſtance, with a blunt point, in a perpendicular poſition, and turn it quickly round, between the two hands, as chocolate is milled, preſſing it downwards at the ſame time. A hole is ſoon formed by this motion
of

Mode of kind-
ling them.

of the smaller stick ; but it has not penetrated far before the larger one takes fire. I have also seen the same effect produced, more simply, by rubbing one bit of bamboo, with a sharp edge, across another.*

Water is conveyed from the spring, in bamboos, which for this purpose, are cut, either to the length of five or six feet, and carried over the shoulder, or into a number of single joints, that are put together in a basket. It is drunk out of the fruit called *laboo* here, resembling the *calabash* of the West Indies, a hole being made in the side of the neck, and another at top for vent. In drinking, they generally hold the vessel at a distance above their mouths, and catch the stream as it descends. Baskets (*bronong*, *bacole*) are a considerable part of the furniture of a man's house, and the number of these seen hanging up, are tokens of the owner's substance : for in them his harvests, of rice or pepper, are

* This mode of kindling fire is not peculiar to Sumatra : we read of the same practice in Africa, and even in Kamtschatka. It is surprizing, but confirmed by abundant authority, that many nations of the earth, have, at certain periods, being ignorant of the use of fire. To our immediate apprehension, human existence would seem in such circumstances impossible. Every art, every convenience, every necessary of life, is now in the most intimate manner connected with it : and yet the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and Greeks acknowledged traditions concerning its first discovery in their respective countries. But, in fact, if we can once suppose a man, or society of men, unacquainted with the being and uses of this element, I see no difficulty in conceiving the possibility of their supporting life without it ; I mean in the tropical climates ; and of centuries passing before they should arrive at the important discovery. It is true that lightning and its effects, volcanos, the firing of dry substances by fortuitous attrition, or of moist, by fermentation, might give them an idea of its violent and destructive properties ; but far from being thence induced to appropriate and apply it, they would, on the contrary, dread and avoid it, even in its less formidable appearances. They might be led to worship it as their deity, but not to cherish it as their domestic. There is some reason to conclude that the man who first reduced it to subjection, and rendered it subservient to the purposes of life, procured it from the collision of two flints ; but the sparks thus produced, whether by accident or design, might be observed innumerable times, without its suggesting a beneficial application. In countries where those did not present themselves, the discovery had, most probably, its origin in the rubbing together of dry sticks, and in this operation, the agent and subject co-existing, flame, with its properties and uses, became more immediately apparent. Still, as no previous idea was conceived of this latent principle, and consequently no search made, no endeavors exerted, to bring it to light, I see not the impossibility *à priori*, of its remaining almost as long concealed from mankind, as the properties of the loadstone, or the qualities of gunpowder.

gathered

gathered and brought home ; no carts being employed in the interior parts of the island, which I am now describing. They are made of slices of bamboo, connected by means of split rattans ; and are carried, chiefly by the women, on the back, supported by a string, or band, across the forehead.

Although the Sumatrans live, in a great measure, upon vegetable food, they are not restrained, by any superstitious opinion, from other aliments, and accordingly, at their entertainments, the flesh of the buffalo (*carbow*), goat, and fowls, are served up. Their dishes are almost all prepared in that mode of dressing, to which we have given the name of curry, (from an Hindostanic word) and which is now universally known in Europe. It is called in the Malay language, *goolye*, and may be composed of any kind of edible, but is generally of flesh or fowl, with a variety of pulse and succulent herbage, stewed down with certain ingredients, by us termed, when mixed and ground together, curry powder. These ingredients are, among others, the cayenne or chili pepper, turmeric, serrape or lemon grass, cardamums, garlick, and the pulp of the coco-nut bruised to a milk resembling that of almonds, which is the only liquid made use of. This differs from the curries of Madras and Bengal, which have greater variety of spices, and want the coco-nut. It is not a little remarkable, that the common pepper, the chief produce and staple commodity of the country, is never mixed by the natives in their food. They esteem it heating to the blood, and ascribe a contrary effect to the cayenne ; which, I can say, my own experience justifies. A great diversity of curries is usually served up at the same time, in small vessels, each flavored, to a nice discerning taste, in a different manner ; and in this consists all the luxury of their tables. Let the quantity or variety of meat be what it may, the principal article of their food is rice, which is eaten in a large proportion with every dish, and very frequently without any other accompaniment than salt and chili pepper. It is prepared by boiling in a manner peculiar to India ; its perfection, next to cleanness and whiteness, consisting in its being, when thoroughly dressed and soft to the heart, at the same time whole and separate, so that no two grains

grains shall adhere together. The manner of effecting this, is by putting into the earthen or other vessel in which it is boiled, no more water than is sufficient to cover it; letting it simmer over a slow fire; taking off the water by degrees with a flat ladle or spoon, that the grain may dry, and removing it when just short of burning. At their entertainments, the guests are treated with rice prepared also in a variety of modes, by frying it in cakes, or boiling it, mixed with the kernel of the coco-nut and fresh oil, in small joints of bamboo. This is called *lemmang*. Before it is served up, they cut off the outer rind of the bamboo, and the soft inner coat is peeled away by the person who eats.

They dress their meat immediately after killing it, while it is still warm, which is conformable with the practice of the ancients, as recorded in Homer and elsewhere, and in this state it is said to eat tenderer than when kept for a day: longer the climate will not admit of, unless when it is preserved in that mode called *dinding*: This is the flesh of the buffalo cut into small thin steaks, and exposed to the heat of the sun in fair weather, generally on the thatch of their houses, till it is become so dry and hard as to resist putrefaction, without any assistance from salt. Fish is preserved in the same manner, and cargoes of both are sent from parts of the coast, where they are in plenty, to those where provisions are in more demand. It is seemingly strange, that heat, which, in a certain degree, promotes putrefaction, should, when violently increased, operate to prevent it; but it must be considered that moisture also is requisite to the former effect, and this is absorbed in thin substances, by the sun's rays, before it can contribute to the production of maggots.

Blachang, a preservation, if it may be so termed, of an opposite kind, is esteemed a great delicacy among the Malays, and is by them exported to the west of India. The country Sumatrans seldom procure it. It is a species of caviare, and is extremely offensive and disgusting to persons who are not accustomed to it, particularly the black kind, which is the most common. The best sort, or the red blachang, is made of the

spawn of shrimps, or of the shrimps themselves, which they take about the mouths of rivers. They are left in the sun to dry, then pounded in a mortar, with salt, moistened with a little water, and formed into cakes, which is all the process. The black sort, used by the lower class, is made of small fish, prepared in the same manner. On some parts of the east coast of the island, they salt the roes of large fish, and preserve them perfectly dry, and well flavored.

When the natives kill a buffalo, which is always done at their public meetings, they do not cut it up into joints, as we do an ox, but into small pieces of flesh, or steaks, which they call *bantye*. The hide of the buffalo is scalded, scraped, and hung up to dry in their houses, where it shrivels, and becomes perfectly hard. When wanted for use, a piece is chopped off, and being stewed down for a great number of hours, in a small quantity of water, forms a rich jelly, which, properly seasoned, is esteemed a very delicate dish.

The sago (*sagoo*), though common on Sumatra, and used occasionally by the natives, is not an article of food of such general use among them, as with the inhabitants of many other eastern islands, where it is employed as a substitute for rice. The tree which yields it, is a species of palm, whose trunk contains a glutinous pith, that being soaked, dried, and granulated, becomes the sago of our shops, and has been too frequently and accurately described to need a repetition from me. Millet (*randa jaou*) is also cultivated for food, but not in any considerable quantity.

When these several articles of subsistence fail, the Sumatran has recourse to those wild roots, herbs, and leaves of trees, which the woods abundantly afford in every season, without culture, and which the habitual simplicity of his diet teaches him to consider as no very extraordinary circumstance of hardship. Hence it is that famines in this island, or, more properly speaking, failures of crops of grain, are never attended with those dreadful consequences, which more improved countries, and more provident nations experience.

Agriculture.

Agriculture.—Rice, its Cultivation, &c.—Plantations of Coco, Betel-nut, and other Trees, for Domestic use.—Dye Stuffs.

FROM their domestic œconomy I am led to take a view of their Agriculture. labors in the field, their plantations and the state of agriculture amongst them, which an ingenious writer esteems the justest criterion of civilization.

The most important article of cultivation, not on Sumatra alone, but Rice. throughout the east, is rice. It is the grand material of food, on which an hundred millions of the inhabitants of the earth subsist, and although chiefly confined by nature to the regions included between, and bordering on the tropics, its cultivation is probably more extensive than that of wheat, which the Europeans are wont to consider as the universal staff of life. In the continent of Asia, as you advance to the northward, you come to the boundary where the plantations of rice disappear, and the wheat fields commence; the cold felt in that climate, owing in part to the extreme height of the land, being unfriendly to the production of the former article.

Rice (*bras*) whilst in the husk, is in India called *paddee*, and assumes a different name in each of its other various states. We observe no distinction of this kind in Europe, where our grain retains through all its stages, till it becomes flour, its original name of barley, wheat or oats.* Among people whose general objects of contemplation are few,

* The following, beside many others, are names applied to rice, in its different stages of growth and preparation: *paddee*, original name of the seed: *coffay*, grain of last season: *bunnee*, the plants before removed to the sawoors: *bras* or *bray*, rice, the husk of the *paddee* being taken off: *charroop*, rice cleaned for boiling: *nassie*, boiled rice: *peerang*, yellow rice: *jambar*, a service of rice, &c.

those which do of necessity engage their attention, are often more nicely discriminated, than the same objects among more enlightened people, whose ideas ranging over the extensive field of art and science, disdain to fix long on obvious and common matters. *Paddee*, on Sumatra and the Malay islands, is distinguished into two sorts, *Laddang* or up-land paddee, and *Sawcor* or low-land, which are always kept separate, and will not grow reciprocally.* Of these the former bears the higher price, being a whiter, heartier, and better flavored grain, and having the advantage in point of keeping. The latter is much more prolific from the seed, and liable to less risk in the culture, but is of a watery substance, produces less increase in boiling, and is subject to a swifter decay. It is, however, in more common use than the former. Beside this general distinction, the paddee of each sort, particularly the Laddang, presents a variety of species, which, as far as my information extends, I shall enumerate, and endeavor to describe. The common kind of dry ground paddee: color, light brown: the size rather large, and very little crooked at the extremity. Paddee *undallong*: dry ground: short round grain: grows in whorles or bunches round the stock. Paddee *ebbafs*: dry ground: large grain: common. Paddee *galbo*: dry ground: light colored: scarce. Paddee *fennce*: dry ground: deep colored; small grain: scarce. Paddee *ejoo*: dry ground; light colored. Paddee *kooning*: dry ground: deep yellow: fine rice: crooked, and pointed. Paddee *coocoor ballum*: dry ground: much esteemed: light colored; small, and very much crooked, resembling a dove's nail, from whence its name. Paddee *pefang*: dry ground: outer coat light brown; inner red: longer, smaller and less crooked than the *coocoor ballum*. Paddee *Santong*: the finest sort that is planted in wet ground: small, straight, and light-colored. In general it may be observed that the larger grained rice is the least esteemed, and the smaller and whiter, the most prized. In the Lam-poon country they make a distinction of paddee *crawang*, and paddee *jerroo*, the former of which is a month earlier in growth than the latter.

* Le Poivre, in the *Travels of a Philosopher*, observes the same distinction in the rice of Cochin China.

I shall speak first of the cultivation of the *Laddang* or upland paddee. This is sown, as is obvious from the name, in high grounds, and almost universally on the site of old woods, on account of the superior richness of the soil; the continual fall and rotting of the leaves, forming there a bed of vegetable mould, which the open plains cannot afford, being exhausted, by the powerful operation of the sun's rays, and the constant production of a rank grass, called *lallang*. When this *lallang*, with which the eastern islands are for the most part covered, where the ground is free from wood, is kept under by frequent mowing, or the grazing of cattle, its room is supplied with grass of a finer texture. Many suppose that the same, identical species of grass undergoes this alteration, as no fresh seeds are sown, and the change uniformly takes place. But this is an evident mistake, as the generic characters of the two are essentially different, the one being the *gramen caricofum*, and the other the *gramen aciculatum*, described by Rumphius. The former, which grows to the height of five feet, is remarkable for the whiteness and softness of the down, which is its blossom, and the other for the sharpness of its bearded seeds, which prove extremely troublesome to the legs of those who walk among it*.

Upland paddee
or rice.

On account of the fertility which it occasions, the natives do not look upon the abundance of wood in the country, as an inconvenience;

* " *Gramen caricofum*. Hec totos occupat campos, nudoque colles; tam dense, & late germinans, ut, è longinquo haberetur campus oryza conquisitus: tam luxuriose & fortiter crescit, ut neque hortos neque sylvas evitet, atque tam vehementer prorepat, ut artæ vix depurari ac servari possint, licet quotidie deambulentur." " *Gramen aciculatum*. Usus ejus fere nullus est, sed hic detegendum est, ludibrium, quod quis habet, si per campos, vel in sylvis procedat, ubi hoc gramen ad vias, publicas crescit, quum prætereuntium vestibus semen quam maxime inhaeret " *Rumphius*.

Le Poivre, in his Travels of a Philosopher, describes the plains of Madagascar and Java, as covered with a long grass, which he calls *Fatak*, and which, from the analogy of the countries in other respects, I should suppose to be the *lallang*; but he praises it as affording excellent pasturage; whereas on Sumatra it is reckoned the worst, and except when very young, it is not edible by the largest cattle; for which reason the carters and drovers constantly set fire to that which grows on the plains by the road side, that the young shoots which afterwards spring up, may supply food to their beasts,

but

but the contrary. In few parts of the island do they ever sow grain on land that has been long cleared, and there, more from necessity than choice. I have heard a prince of the country complain of a settlement made by some strangers in the inland part of his dominions, whom he should be under an obligation to expel from thence, to prevent the waste of his old woods. This seemed a superfluous act of precaution in an island which strikes the eye as one general, impervious, and inexhaustible forest*.

On the approach of the dry monsoon, or about the month of April, the husbandman makes choice of a spot, for his laddang of that season, and collecting his family and dependants, proceeds to fell the timber, in order to clear the ground. This is an undertaking of immense labor, and would seem to require herculean force; but it is effected by perseverance. Their tools, the *prang* and *billiong*, (the former resembling a bill-hook, and the latter an imperfect adze) are seemingly inadequate to the task, and the saw is unknown in the country. Being regardless of the timber, they do not fell the tree near the ground, where the stem is thick, but erect a stage, and begin to hew, or chop rather, at the height of ten or twelve feet, where the dimensions are smaller, till it is sufficiently weakened to admit of their pulling it down with rattans, in place of ropes, made fast to the branches†. And thus by slow degrees the whole is laid low. I could never behold this devastation without a strong sentiment of regret. Perhaps the prejudices of a classical education taught me to respect those aged trees, as the habitation or material frame of an order of sylvan deities, who were now deprived of existence, by the sacrilegious hand of a rude, undistinguishing savage. But without having recourse to superstition, it is not difficult to account for such feelings, on the sight of a venerable wood, old as the

* The quickness of vegetation precludes all possibility of clearing a country so thinly inhabited. Ground, where paddee has been planted, will, in a single month after the harvest, afford full shelter for a tiger.

† The *Maison rustique de Cayenne*, describes a similar mode of felling trees.

foil it stood on, and beautiful beyond what pencil can describe, annihilated, for the temporary use of the space it occupied. It appears a violation of nature, in the too arbitrary exercise of power. The timber thus felled is of no value, from its abundance, the smallness of consumption, and its distance, in common, from the banks of rivers, by the means of which alone it can be transported to any distance. Trees, whose amazing bulk, height, and straightness would excite the admiration of a traveller, compared to which the masts of men of war are diminutive, fall in the general ruin. The branches are lopped off, and when the continuance of the dry weather has rendered them sufficiently arid, they are set fire to, and the country is, for the space of a month, in a general blaze, till the whole is consumed. The expiring wood, beneficent to its ungrateful destroyer, fertilizes for his use, by its ashes and their salts, the earth from which it sprung, and which it so long adorned.

Unseasonable wet weather at this period, which sometimes happens, is productive of much inconvenience, by loss of present time, and throwing the crop back. There are impostors, that make a profit of the credulity of the husbandmen, who, like all others whose employments expose them to risks, are prone to superstition, by pretending to a power of causing, or retarding rain. One of these will receive, at the time of burning the laddangs, a dollar or more from each family in the neighbourhood, that he may procure favorable weather for their business. To accomplish this purpose, he abstains, or pretends to abstain, for many days and nights, from food and sleep, and performs various trifling ceremonies, continuing all the time in the open air. If he espies a cloud gathering, he immediately begins to smoke tobacco with great vehemence, walking about quick, and throwing the puffs towards it with all the force of his lungs. How far he is successful, it is no difficult matter to judge. His skill, in fact, lies in chusing his time, when there is the greatest prospect of a continuance of fair weather in the ordinary course of nature: but should he fail, there is an effectual salvo. He always promises to fulfil his agreement, with a *Deo volente* clause, and

and so attributes his occasional disappointments to the particular interposition of the deity. The cunning men, who, in this and many other instances of conjuration, impose on the simple country people, are always Malay adventurers.

When the periodical rains begin to fall, which happen, gradually about September or October, they proceed to sow the grain. Ploughs are rarely used, and only in the open plains, when cultivated, in countries where the old woods are comparatively scarce. In the grounds I am describing, the stumps of the trees would utterly preclude the possibility of working them. The husbandman enters the plantation, as it is usual to call the paddee field, with a sharp stake in each hand, and with these makes holes on either side of him, at equal distances, as he proceeds. Another person follows him, with the seed, of which he drops a few grains into each hole; leaving it to accident, or the winds and rain, to cover it. The birds, as may be expected, often prove destructive foes, and in a plantation far removed from any other, they have been known to devour the whole. The above is all the labor that a laddang requires, till the harvest time, which is estimated at five months and ten days from the period of sowing.

Low ground
rice.

The preparation of the *Sawoor*, or low ground plantations, is as follows. After clearing away the brush wood, and aquatic shrubs, with which the swamps and marshes, when neglected, are overrun, a number of buffalos, whose greatest enjoyment consists in wading and rolling in mud, are turned in. These work it up by their motions, and enrich it with their dung. The next care is to level it well, that the water, when introduced, may lie equally on all the parts. For this purpose, in some districts of the country, they contrive to drag about on the surface, a flat board with earth on it, to depress the rising spots, and fill up the hollow ones. The whole is then divided by parallel dams, by means of which the water is retained, or let off at pleasure. These divisions or plats, are called *peering*, which signifies a dish.

Whilst

Whilst this work is going on, a spot is prepared in a convenient part of the ground, where the seed paddee is sown, in small patches, very thick, for transplanting, and in this state it is called *bunnay*. When it is about two or three inches high, the tops are cropped in order to multiply the shoots. At the end of forty days from first sowing, the transplantation takes place: holes are made in the sawoor, as described in the laddang, and a few plants put in each; a reserve being made in the patches to supply the place of such as shall have failed upon removal. The innumerable springs and runs of water with which this island abounds, render unnecessary the laborious processes by which water is raised and supplied to the plantations in the West of India, where the country is level, and the soil sandy: yet still the principal art of the planter consists, and is required, in the management of this article; to furnish it to the ground in proper and moderate quantities, and to carry it off from time to time, by drains; for it must on no account be long stagnant, as a neglect of that kind would occasion the grain to rot. When the paddee begins to form the ear, or to blossom, as the natives express it, the water is all finally drawn off. They now begin to prepare their machines for frightening away the birds, in which they employ incredible pains, and wonderful ingenuity. The strings and clappers are so disposed, that a child shall be able, with the simple motion of its arm, to create a loud, clattering noise, through every part of an extensive plantation; and on the borders are placed, at distances, a species of windmill fixed on poles, which, to an unexperienced traveller, have as tremendous an effect as those which terrified the Knight of la Mancha.

In four months from the time of transplanting, they begin to reap the grain. The mode of doing this is the same with both species of paddee. The ears are cut off pretty short, one by one, with a rude instrument, resembling the stump of a knife, in a bamboo haft*. This is performed with one hand, as if the ears were plucked, and each, as taken off, is put into the other hand, till that is full; when they are

Reaping.

* The inhabitants of Menangkabow reap with an instrument resembling a sickle.

tied up in a little sheaf, and thrown into a basket, which they carry for the purpose, either by their side, or slung on their back, with the string or strap across the forehead. The quantity of paddee which they can grasp in both hands, whilst thus in the ear, is said to be equal to a bamboo (gallon) when threshed out, and is often sold by that estimation.

Threshing.

Different nations have adopted various methods of separating the grain from the ear. The most ancient we read of, was that of driving cattle over the sheaves, in order to trample it out. Large planks; blocks of marble; heavy carriages; have been employed in later times for this end. In most parts of Europe the flail is now in use. The Sumatrans have a mode different from all these. The paddee in the ear being spread on mats in their barns, they rub it out with their feet; supporting themselves, for the more easy performance of this labor, by holding with their hands a bamboo placed across, over their heads. Although, by going always unshod, their feet are extremely callous, and therefore in some degree adapted to this work, yet the workmen, when closely tasked by their masters, sometimes continue shuffling till the blood issues from their soles. This is the universal practice throughout the island.

A haddang, in any of the districts that lie near the sea coast, cannot be used two following seasons, though a sawoor may; yet in the inland country, where the temperature of the air is more favorable to agriculture, they have been known to sow the same ground, three successive years. It is common there also to plant a crop of onions, as soon as the stubble is burned off. Millet is sown at the same time with the paddee.

In the country of Manna, a progress in the art of cultivation is discovered, superior to what appears in almost any other part of the island; among the Battas perhaps alone excepted. Here the traveller may observe pieces of land, in size from five to fifteen acres, regularly ploughed and harrowed. I shall endeavor to account for this difference. Manna is by much the most populous district to the southward, with the smallest extent

extent of sea coast. The pepper plantations and laddangs together, have in great measure exhausted the old woods, in the accessible parts of the country, and the inhabitants are therein deprived of a source of fertility, which nature formerly supplied. They must either starve, remove their plantations, or cultivate the earth. The first is contrary to the inherent principle which teaches man to preserve life by every possible means : Their attachment to their *natale solum*, or rather their veneration for the sepulchres of their ancestors, is so strong, that to remove, would cost them a struggle equal almost to the pangs of death : Necessity therefore, the parent of art, obliges them to cultivate the earth. The produce of the grounds thus tilled, is reckoned at thirty for one : from the laddangs in common, it is about sixty to eighty. The sawoors are generally supposed to yield an increase of an hundred for one, and in some of the northern parts (at *Saosoo*) an hundred and twenty. These returns are very extraordinary, compared with the produce of our fields in Europe, which, I believe, seldom exceeds fifteen, and is often under ten. What is this disproportion owing to ? Perhaps to the difference of grain, as rice may be in its nature extremely prolific : perhaps to the more genial influence of a warmer climate : perhaps the earth, by an excessive cultivation, loses by degrees her fecundity. An attention to the observations and reports of travellers, would seem to give countenance to this supposition. Peru, which may be called new land, is said to yield four or five hundred for one. Babylon, anciently, two to three hundred. Lybia an hundred and fifty. Egypt an hundred. Yet of the two latter, modern naturalists inform us, the one produces, at this day, but ten or twelve, and the other from four to ten, for one. The Peruvian account I suspect of exaggeration, or that it is the result of some particular and partial experiment, as it is well known what a surprizing crop may be procured from a small quantity of grain, sown separately, and carefully weeded. The other accounts are probably just, but the falling off in these countries, as well as the difference between the European and eastern produce, I attribute, more than to any other cause, to the different style of cultivation. With us the saving of labor and promoting of expedition, are the chief objects, and in order to effect

Rate of Pro-
duce.

these, the grain is almost universally scattered in the furrows, except where the drill has been introduced. The Sumatrans, who do not calculate their own or their domestics' labor on these occasions, make holes in the ground, as I have described, and drop into each a few grains; or by a process still more tedious, raise the seed in beds, and afterwards plant it out. Mr. Charles Miller, in a paper published in the *Phil. Trans.*, has shewn us the wonderful effects of transplantation. How far it might be worth the English farmer's while, to bestow more labor in the business of sowing his grain, in hopes of an increase of produce, I am not competent, nor is it to my present purpose, to form a judgment. Possibly, as the advantage might be found to lie rather in the quantity of grain saved in the sowing, than gained in the reaping, it would not answer the purpose; for although half the quantity of seed, bears reciprocally the same proportion to the usual produce, that double the latter does to the usual allowance of seed, yet in point of profit it is quite another matter. In order to increase this, it is of much more importance to augment the produce from a given quantity of land, than to diminish the grain necessary to sow it.

Fertility of soil

Notwithstanding the received opinion of the fertility of the Malay islands, countenanced by the authority of Le Poivre, and other celebrated writers, and still more by the extraordinary produce of grain, as above-mentioned, I cannot help saying, that I think the soil of Sumatra is in general rather sterile, than rich. It is almost every where a stiff, red clay, burned nearly to the state of a brick, where it is exposed to the influence of the sun. The small proportion of the whole which is cultivated, is either ground from which old woods have been recently cleared, whose leaves had formed a bed of vegetable earth, some inches deep; or else swamps, into which the scanty mould of the neighbouring hills has been washed by the annual torrents of rain, in consequence of their low situation. It is true that on many parts of the coast, there are, between the cliffs and the beach, small plains of a sandy soil, probably left by the sea, and more or less mixed with earth, in proportion to the time they have remained uncovered by the waters; and such are found to prove the most favorable spots for raising the productions

of

of the western world. But these are partial and unsatisfactory proofs of fertility. The great increase from the seed is, as I have suggested, more probably owing to the mode of sowing, than to superior richness of the land, and would not appear if the European method of scattering it were followed. Although in Manna they have got into the practice of tilling the ground, and derive from thence a produce of thirty for one, in open plains, it must be observed, that this is still new land, though not just then cleared for the purpose, and the same spot is doubtless not worked a second time till it has lain fallow. Every person who has attempted to make, on Sumatra, a garden of any kind, must well know how ineffectual a labor it would prove to attempt turning up with the spade a piece of ground adopted at random. It becomes necessary for this purpose, to form an artificial soil of dung, ashes, rubbish, and such other materials as can be procured. From such alone he can expect to raise the smallest supply of vegetables for the table. I have seen many extensive plantations of coco-nut, penang, and coffee-trees, laid out at a considerable expence by different gentlemen, and not one do I recollect to have succeeded; owing to the barrenness of the country. These disappointments have induced the Europeans almost entirely to neglect agriculture. The more industrious Chinese colonists, who work the ground with indefatigable pains, and dung high, are rather more successful; yet have I heard one of the most able cultivators among this people,* who, by the dint of labor and perseverance, had raised a delightful garden near Fort Marlborough, designed for profit as well as pleasure, declare, that his heart was almost broken in struggling against nature; the soil being so ungrateful, that instead of obtaining a return for his trouble and expence, the undertaking was likely to render him a bankrupt; and which he would inevitably have been, but for assistance afforded him by the India Company. The natives, it is true, without much or any cultivation, raise some useful trees and plants; but they

* Key Soon: his taste in gardening was exquisite, and his assiduity unremitting. Some particular plants, especially the *tea*, he used to tell me he considered as his children: his first care in the morning, and last at night was to tend and cherish them. I have heard, with concern, of his death, since the first publication of this work. I could wish the old man had lived to know that this small tribute of attention had been paid to his merits.

are in very small quantities, and immediately about their villages, where the earth is fertilized in spite of their indolence, by the common sweepings of their houses and streets, and the mere vicinity of their buildings. I have often had occasion to observe, in young plantations, that those few trees which surrounded the house of the owner, or the hut of the keeper, considerably over-topped their brethren of the same age. Every person at first sight, and on a superficial view of the Malay countries, pronounces them the favorites of nature, where she has lavished all her bounties with a profusion unknown in other regions, and laments the infatuation of the people, who neglect to cultivate the finest soil in the world. But I have scarcely known one, who, after a few years residence, has not entirely altered his opinion. Certain it is, that in point of external appearance, the Malay islands, and Sumatra among the rest, may challenge the world to a comparison. There indeed nature has been extravagant, bestowing on many parts of the country, where human foot scarce ever trod, all that is adapted to raise the sentiment of sublimity in minds susceptible of the impression. But how rarely are those minds to be found ! and yet it is alone

“ For such the rivers dash their foaming tides,
The mountain swells, the vale subsides,
The stately wood detains the wand’ring fight,
And the rough, barren rock grows pregnant with delight.”

Even where there *are* inhabitants, to how little purpose has she been thus profuse in ornament ! In passing through some places, where my fancy has been charmed with more beautiful and truly picturesque scenes, than I remember ever to have met with before, I could not avoid regretting that a country so captivating to the eye, should be allotted to a race of people who seem totally insensible of its beauties.

After treading out the grain, which is equivalent to threshing, the next step is to winnow it, which is done precisely in the same manner as practised by us. Advantage being taken of a windy day, it is poured out from the sieve or fan ; the chaff dispersing, whilst the heavier grain falls to the ground. This mode seems to have been universal in all
ages.

ages and countries. The next process is that of clearing the grain from the husk, by which, from paddee, it becomes rice. This is done in the *Lessoong*, or large wooden mortar, where it is pounded, by one or more persons, with heavy pestles, of wood also, called *Alloo*, till the outer coat is separated; after which it is again fanned. This business is likewise, in some places, performed with a machine, which is no more than a hollow cylinder of heavy wood, turned back and forwards, horizontally, by two handles, on a solid cylinder of the same diameter, and at the same time pressed down to increase the friction. The grain is put into the hollow cylinder, which answers the purpose of a hopper, at the same time that it performs the business of the upper millstone in our mills. A spindle runs up from the center of the lower piece of wood, which serves as an axis for the upper to turn on.

Mode of clearing grain from the husks.

The rice is now in a state for sale, exportation, or laying up. It will not keep above twelve months, particularly the sawoor rice, which begins to shew signs of decay after six. At Natal they have a practice of putting a quantity of the leaves of a shrub called *Lagoondee*, amongst their rice, in granaries or boats holds, which possesses the property of destroying the weevils that usually breed in it. In Bengal, I am told, they kiln-dry the rice intended for exportation, owing to which, or some other process, it will continue good for several years, and is on that account made use of for garrisons in the Malay countries. In the state of paddee it will keep long without damaging, which induces the country people to lay it up in the sheaf; clearing it of the husk, or beating it out, as it is termed, from time to time, as wanted for use. By this operation it loses one half of its quantity in measurement, two bamboos of paddee yielding but one of rice. To render it perfectly clean for eating, a circumstance they are particularly attentive to, it is put a second time into a lessong of smaller size, and being sufficiently pounded, without breaking the grains, it is again winnowed, by tossing it in a flat sieve, till the pure and spotless grain is dexterously separated from the bran. They next wash it in cold water, and then proceed to boil it in the manner before described.

Rice as an article of commerce.

The price of this necessary of life differs throughout the island, according to the general demand at the place where it is purchased, and the circumstances of the season. At a northern port called Soosoo, it is seldom under thirty bamboos (gallons) the Spanish dollar. In the southern districts, where the cultivation is more confined, and the soil less productive, it varies from twelve to four bamboos, according as the harvest is more or less plentiful, or the market better or worse supplied with imported rice.

Coconut.

The Coco-nut tree may be esteemed the next important object of cultivation, from the uses to which its produce is applied by the natives of India; though on Sumatra it is not converted to such a variety of purposes, as in those islands where nature has been less bountiful in other gifts. Its value here consists principally in the kernel of the nut, of which the consumption is prodigious, being a principal ingredient in all their dishes. The stem is but in little estimation for building, where the finest timber so much abounds. The husk is not twisted into ropes, called *coyar*, as on the other side of India, rattans and ejoo being used for that purpose. The shell is but little employed as a domestic utensil, the lower class of the people preferring the bamboo and the laboo, and the better sort being possessed of coarse earthen ware. The filaments which surround the stem are probably manufactured into cloth in those countries alone, where cotton is not produced, which is a material infinitely preferable: besides, that certain kinds of trees, as before observed, afford, in their soft and pliable bark, a species of cloth ready woven to their hands. Of the coco-nut, however, they make oil for the hair, and for burning in lamps; though, in the interior country, the light most commonly used, is from the *dammar* or turpentine, of which links are formed. Toddy, a liquor esteemed for various purposes, and particularly in the manufacture of arrack, is drawn from this, as well as other species of the palm: from the head they procure a kind of cabbage; and of the fibres of the leaves they compose their brooms. Every doosoon or village is surrounded with a number of coco-nut trees, where the soil and air will suffer them to grow; and near the bazars, or seaport

port towns, where the concourse of inhabitants is much greater, there are always large plantations of them to supply the extraordinary demand.

This tree, in all its species, stages, and parts, has been so elaborately, minutely, and justly described by many writers, especially the celebrated Rumphius in his *Hortus Amboiniensis*, that it would be mere repetition in me to attempt a scientific account of it. I shall therefore only add a few detached observations on its growth. It thrives best in a low sandy soil, near the sea, where it will produce fruit in four or five years. In clayey ground it seldom bears in less than seven to ten years. As you recede from the coast the growth is proportionably slower, owing to the greater degree of cold in the hills, which is its severest enemy; and it must attain there nearly its full height before it is productive, whereas in the plains, a boy can generally reach its first fruit from the ground. Here, said a countryman, at Laye, if I plant a coconut or deorean tree, I may expect to reap the fruit of it, but in Laboon (an inland district) I should only plant for my great-grand-children. This very tedious growth may seem exaggerated, but it was repeatedly asserted to be, *duo, tergo, quatergo* (two or three generations) before the coconut trees arrived at complete maturity; and in some parts of the island, where the land is particularly high, I have been assured that neither those, the betel nut, or pepper vines, will produce fruit at all.

It has been remarked by some writer, that the great palm tree (*phoenix*, or *palma datylifera*) and the coconut tree, are never found to flourish in the same country. However this may hold good as a general assertion, it is a fact that not one tree of that species grows on the island of Sumatra, although the coconut and many other kinds of palms abound there.

All the small islands which lie off the coast are skirted, near the sea beach, with coconut trees growing so thick together that they almost choke each other, whilst the interior parts are entirely free from them. This, beyond a doubt, is occasioned by the accidental floating of the nuts

to the shore, where they are planted by the hand of nature, shoot forth and bear fruit; which falling, as it comes to maturity, springs up in like manner, and causes a successive reproduction.* Some of these islands, particularly *Paolo Migo*, one of the southernmost, are uninhabited, except by rats and squirrels, who feast without control upon the coconuts, unless when disturbed by the crews of vessels from Sumatra, which go thither occasionally to collect loadings for market. The sea-coconuts, which are known to be the production of islands that lie north-east of Madagascar, are sometimes floated as far as the Malay coasts, where they are supposed to be natives of the ocean, and were held in high veneration for their miraculous effects in medicine, till a large cargo of them was a few years since brought to Bencoolen by a French ship, when their character fell with their price.

Betel-nut, and other vegetables of domestic use.

Of the *Pinang* or betel-nut tree, which in growth and appearance is not unlike the coconut, the natives make large plantations, as well as of the *Serec*, a creeping plant, whose leaf, of a strong aromatic flavor, they eat with the betel-nut and other additions; a practice which I shall hereafter describe. *Cbili* or cayenne pepper, which is much used in their curries and with every article of their food, always constitutes a part of their irregular and inartificial gardens. Turmeric (*curcuma*), a yellow root well known in our shops, is likewise universally cultivated. It is of two kinds, the one called *cooniet mera*, for domestic use, being also an ingredient in their curries, pilaws, and sundry dishes: the other, *cooniet tummo*, is an excellent yellow dye, and is sometimes employed in medicine. The coriander and cardamum plants grow in the country in great abundance. The latter is called by the natives *poob lake*. There are many species of the *poob*, the most common of which has extraordinary large leaves, like the plantain, and possesses an aromatic quality, not un-

* A few coconuts have been driven by the sea to some parts of the coast of Madagascar, where they are not indigenous, as I was assured by a native, who told me their language had no name for them. Rumphius says they are called *Voanion* (*booa nkor*) a corruption of the Sumatran name. They seem to have been little if at all known to the ancients, though said by Theophrastus to have been produced in Egypt.

like that of the bay. Ginger is planted in small quantities. It is called *sepudday*; which name occasions me to remark, that in the Malay language, they use the word "*pudday*" to express that pungent, acrid quality in pepper and other spices, which we vaguely denote by the word, "*hot*", which has another signification totally different. A dish highly seasoned, may, according to our mode of expression, be at the same time hot and cold. *Coffus arabicus* and *amomum zerumbet* are cultivated for medicinal purposes, as is also the *galangale*. Small plantations of tobacco, of the same species with the Virginian, are to be met with every where in the country, but the people are not expert in the method of curing it, else there is no doubt but it might be brought to great perfection, and by increasing the quantity, rendered a considerable object of trade. It is cut, whilst green, into fine shreds, and afterwards dried in the sun. *Benjan* (*sesamum*) is sown largely, especially in the Passumamah country, for the oil it produces, which is used in burning only. The *jarak* (*palma Cbristi*) from whence the castor oil, so much prized, is extracted, grows wild in abundance. The natives are fond of the sugar cane, which they cut into joints, and chew as a delicacy, but they rarely express, or manufacture its juice. Their sugar or *jaggree** is made from a liquor yielded by the *Anou*, a species of palm. They plant the *kratou*, mulberry, but of a dwarf kind, for the use of the silk worms which they rear, but not to any great extent, and the raw silk produced from them seems of an indifferent quality. The silk is in general white instead of yellow, and the filaments appear coarse, but this may be partly occasioned by the method of loosening them from the bags, which is by steeping them in hot water. The samples I have seen were in large flat cakes which would require much trouble to wind off. *Caloee* is a species of nettle, of which excellent twine, not inferior to ours, is made. It grows to the height of about four feet, without branches, the stem being imperfectly ligneous. It is cut down, dried, and

* If the ancients were acquainted with sugar, it was produced from some species of the palm, as the sugar canes were not brought into the Mediterranean from the east, till a short time before the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape: The word *saccharum* is conjectured to be derived from *jaggree*, which the French pronounce *schagaree*.

beaten; after which its rind is stripped off, and twisted as we do the hemp. Twine is also made of the bark of a shrub called *Eudesileo*. The *cannabis* or hemp, called *ganjo* by the Malays, is cultivated in quantities, not for the purpose of making rope, which they never think of applying it to, but for smoking, and in that state it is called *bang*, and has an intoxicating quality. *Palafs* is a shrub, with a blossom much resembling our hawthorn in appearance and smell. Its leaf has an extraordinary roughness, on which account it is employed to give the last fine polish to their carvings in wood and ivory, particularly the heads and sheaths of their *creeses* or daggers, in which they are remarkably curious. The leaf of the *Seepest* also, having the same quality, is put to the same use. A twine is made in the Lampeen country of the bark of the *Bago* tree, beaten out like hemp, for the construction of large fishing nets. The younger leaves of this tree are esteemed delicate in curries. On the island of Neas they make a twine of the *Bago* tree, which they afterwards weave into coarse cloth for bags. A kind of thread for sewing is procured by stripping filaments from the midribs of the leaves, and the trunk of the *Pesang* or plantain, and I understand that it is in some parts worked in the loom. *Maroongaye*: the root of this shrub, which grows high, with pinnated leaves, has perfectly the appearance, flavor, and pungency of horseradish, and is used in the same manner. *Eemi*: this is a shrub with a small, light green leaf, which yields an expressed juice of a red color, with which the natives tinge the nails of their hands and feet. *Cachang goring*: these are the granulose roots of an herb, which resembles the clover, but that the leaves are double only instead of treble, and affording, like that, the richest pasture for cattle. The blossom is papilionaceous and yellow. The *cachang* (which is likewise the general name for pulse) are always eaten fried, from whence the epithet of *goring*, and prove an agreeable carminative. The natives plant yams of different kinds and remarkably fine; sweet potatoes, of which those who are used to them become very fond; pulse of various sorts, particularly a species of French bean, that grows high, and lasts for several years: the *brinjals* (of which the egg plant is one species) were probably introduced from China, but are much eaten by the natives, split and fried. Their attention to their gardens, however, is
very

very limited, owing to the liberality with which nature, unsolicited, administers to their wants. Maize (*jaggong*), though very generally planted here, is not cultivated in quantities, as an essential article of food. The ears are plucked whilst green, and being slightly roasted, are eaten as a delicacy. *Paccoo beendoo* resembles a young dwarf coconut tree, and is probably of that species. The stem is short and knobby, and the lower parts of each branch prickly. The young shoots are much esteemed in curries. It produces a cabbage like that of the coconut and neebong, which is a fine culinary vegetable. Its flower is yellow. Though ranked by the Malays, and by Rumphius, in the class of ferns, it has no obvious affinity to them. The *neebong* or cabbage tree, a species of palm, grows wild in too great abundance to require being cultivated. The pith of the head of the tree is the part eaten. The stem, which is tall and straight, like the coconut, is much used for posts of slight houses, being of a remarkably hard texture on the outer part. Within side it is quite soft, and therefore, being hollowed out, it is often used as gutters or channels to convey water.

Avou: This is a tree of the palm kind also, and of much importance, as the natives procure from it sago (but there is also another sago tree more productive); toddy or palm wine, of the first quality; sugar or jaggree, and ejoo. The leaves are long and narrow, and though naturally tending to a point, are never found perfect, but always jagged at the end. The fruit grows in bunches of thirty and forty together, on strings three or four feet long. One of these strings being cut off, the part of the shoot remaining is tied up, and then beaten; afterwards an incision in it is made, and a vessel closely fastened, usually of bamboo, into which the toddy (*neeroo*) distils. The *ejoo*, exactly resembling coarse, black horse hair, and used like it, among other purposes, for making ropes, and mixing with mortar, encompasses the stem, and is seemingly bound on by thicker fibres or twigs, of which the Malays make pens for writing.

Indigo (*tareom*) being the principal dye-stuff employed by the natives, that shrub is always found among their plantations, but they do not manufacture

Dye-stuff.

nufacture it into a solid substance, as is done elsewhere in the East and West Indies. They leave the stalks and branches for some days in water to soak and macerate, then boil it, and work with their hands some *chunam* (quick lime) among it, with leaves of the *pacoo sabba* (a species of fern) for fixing the color. They then drain it off, and use it in the liquid state. There is another kind of indigo (*taroom akkar*) which appears to be peculiar to this country, as I shewed some of the leaves to botanists of the most extensive knowledge, who informed me that they were totally unacquainted with it. The common kind is known to have small, pinnated leaves, growing on stalks imperfectly ligneous, about five feet high. The *taroom akkar*, on the contrary, is a vine or creeping plant, with leaves four or five inches long, in shape like a laurel, but finer, and of a dark green. It possesses the same qualities, and produces the same color with the other sort: they are prepared in the same manner, and used indiscriminately, no preference being given by the natives to one above the other, except that the *akkar*, by reason of the largeness of the foliage, yields a greater proportion of sediment. I conceive that it must be a valuable plant, and have written to my friends on Sumatra to transmit me specimens of the flowers and seed, that its identity and class may be accurately ascertained.

Sappang (sapan or Brasil wood). The heart of this being cut into chips, steeped for a considerable time in water, and then boiled, is used for dying here, as in other countries. The cloth or thread is repeatedly dipped in this water, and hung to dry between each wetting, till it is brought to the shade required. To fix the color, *taway* (alum) is added in boiling.

Maceodoo (*morinda citrifolia*). A tree, the outward parts of the root of which, being dried, pounded, and boiled in water, afford a red dye; for fixing which, the ashes yielded by the stalks of the fruit and midribs of the leaves of the coconut, are employed. Sometimes the bark of the *besappang* tree is mixed with the roots of the *maceodoo*.

Chepudda.

Chepudda (jack tree): The roots are cut into chips, and when boiled in water produce a yellow dye. A little of the *caoniet* (turmeric) is mixed with it, to strengthen the tint, and alum, to fix it.

Cadarang is used as the jack tree. These yellow dyes do not hold well, and it is therefore necessary, that the operation of steeping and drying should be frequently repeated.

A black dye is made from the coat of the *mangusken* fruit, and bark of the *katapping* or almond. With this, the blue cloth from the west of India, is rendered black, as usually worn by the Malays of Menangkabow. It is steeped in mud to fix the color. A shrub called *katsam* by the Moossee people, and by the Malays, *timboo akkar*, yields also when boiled, a black dye, which, it is thought, if it could be manufactured like indigo, might turn to valuable account, as a vegetable black dye is said to be much wanted.

Oobar is a red wood which is used for tanning fishing nets. It much resembles the logwood of Honduras, and might probably be employed for the same purposes.

Cassoomboo. This is the *bixa*, from which, in the West Indies, the *arnotto*, a valuable dye, is procured. I brought home with me, and shewed to the late Dr. Solander, some of the seed vessels and leaves, who assured me it was the true arnotto: yet the natives of Sumatra say that it is only an inferior kind, and that the best sort comes from Java. They call theirs *cassoomboo ayer*, which addition signifies water, and is used in other instances to express a bastard species; or perhaps it may only denote its growing in marshy places. Of the Javan, or genuine sort, as they call it, the *flowers* are said to be used, and the color it gives is a shade of pink. In the Sumatran species, the *seeds* afford the dye, which is a yellowish scarlet. The former is, according to Rumphius, the flowers of the *caribamus indicus*, and in a Batavian catalogue*, I observe

* Transactions of the Batavian Society for arts and sciences, vol. 1.—Although the *Bixa* and *Caribamus* are so nearly confounded in the Malay names, yet I am assured that the latter, which I have not seen, bears no manner of resemblance to the former.

that

that a distinction is made between "caffoomboo," which they call "car-thamus," and caffoomboo *cling*" (Teling or Coromandel) which they term "bixa". The leaf of the tree is four inches in length, broad at the base, and tending to a sharp point. The capsule, about an inch in length, is covered with soft prickles or hair, opens like a bivalve shell, and contains in its cavities a dozen or more seeds, about the size of raisin stones, surrounded thick with a reddish farina, which seems the only part that constitutes the dye.

The Sumatrans are acquainted with no purple dye stuff, nor apparently are any of the Indian nations.

Fruits.

Fruits, Flowers, Medicinal Shrubs and Herbs.

“NATURE, says a celebrated writer, seems to have taken a pleasure in assembling in the Malay islands, her most favorite productions”—and with truth I think it may be affirmed, that no country upon earth can boast an equal abundance and variety of *indigenous fruits*; for though the whole of the following list cannot be reckoned as such, yet there is every reason to conclude that by far the greater part may, as the natives can hardly be suspected of having taken much pains to import *exotics*, who never appear to bestow the smallest labor in improving, or even cultivating, those which they naturally possess. The larger number grow wild, and the rest are planted in a careless, irregular manner, without any inclosure, about the skirts of their villages.

The *Mangussteen* (*mangees*) has, by general consent, obtained the preeminence amongst Indian fruits, in the opinion of Europeans. It is the pride of the Malay islands, and perhaps the most delicate fruit in the world; but not rich or luscious. It is a drupe, consisting of a thick rind, somewhat hard on the outside, but soft and succulent within, encompassing kernels which are covered with a juicy, and perfectly white substance, which is the part eaten, or sucked rather, as it dissolves in the mouth. They are extremely innocent in their qualities, and may be eaten in any quantity without danger of a surfeit, or other bad effects. The returns of its season are very irregular.

The *Doorean*. This is the favorite of the natives, who live almost wholly upon it, during the time it continues in season. It is a rich fruit, but strong in the taste, offensive in the smell to those who are not accustomed to it, and of a very heating quality. The tree is large and lofty; the leaves are small in proportion, but in themselves long and pointed. The blossoms grow in clusters, on the stem and larger branches. The petals are five, of a yellowish white, surrounding five bunches of stamens, each bunch containing about twelve, and each stamen having four

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antheræ

antheræ. The pointal is knobbed at top. When the stamina and petals fall, the empalement resembles a fungus, and is nearly the shape of a Scots bonnet. The fruit is not unlike the bread fruit, but larger and rougher on the outside.

The jack (*choopada*). This is distinguished into the choopada *ootan*, and *nanka*. The former is scarce and esteemed preferable. The leaves are smooth, pointed, rare. The nanko, or common sort, has roundish leaves, resembling those of the cashew tree. In both sorts, the fruit grows from the stem, and is very large, weighing sometimes half an hundred weight. The outer coat is rough, containing a number of seeds or kernels, (which when roasted eat like chesnuts) inclosed in a fleshy substance, of a rich, and to strangers, too strong smell and flavor, but which gains upon the taste. As the fruit ripens, the natives cover it with mats or the like, to preserve it from injury by the birds. Of the juice of this tree they make bird-lime, and the root yields a dye stuff.

Spokoon. Calawee. Two species of the bread fruit tree. The former has no kernels, and is the genuine sort. It is propagated by cuttings of the roots. Though pretty common, it is said not to be a native of the island, as the calawee certainly is, the bark of which affords the inhabitants their cloth. They cut the bread fruit in slices, and eat it boiled or fried, with sugar, esteeming it much. I have frequently tasted of it. The leaves of both sorts are deeply indented, like those of the fig, but considerably longer.

Billimbing. Of this there are two sorts, called *jooroo* and *bessée*. The leaves of the latter are small and pinnated, of a sap green: those of the former grow promiscuously, and are of a silver green. The fruit of both is pentagonal, containing five flattish seeds, and extremely acid. The blossom resembles the flower we call London pride. *Cheremin.* This resembles the billimbing bessée, in having the leaves pointed and pinnated alternate. The fruit is acid, and of a small roundish, irregular

lar shape, growing in clusters close to the branch, and containing each a single seed.

Lanfai. The tree which bears this fruit is large; the leaves are of a lightish green and somewhat pointed. The fruit is small, oval, of a light brown; divides into five cloves, fleshy, and of an agreeable taste; but the skin contains a clammy juice, extremely bitter, and which is apt to taint the fruit, if not opened with care. *Ayer ayer.* This is not unlike the lanfai. The *Gbcopa* is also nearly allied to it.

Brangan. This fruit, the produce of a large tree, strongly resembles the Chestnut, and is I think a species of it. They grow sometimes one, two, and three in a husk. *Jerring.* This also seems a species of the chestnut, but it is larger and more irregularly shaped. The tree is smaller than the former. *Tappos.* This has likewise a distant resemblance to the chestnut; has three nuts always in one husk, forming in shape an oblong spheroid. If eaten unboiled, it is said to inebriate. The tree is large.

Cameling or booa cray. This much resembles a walnut, in the flavor and consistence of the fruit; but the shell is harder, and it is not divided into lobes in the same manner, nor does the shell open, being all of one piece. The natives of the hills make use of it for their curries, in parts where the coconut-tree will not produce fruit.

Katapping. This fruit, the produce of a large tree, is extremely like the almond, both in the outer husk and the kernel within, excepting that the latter, instead of splitting into two, as an almond readily does, seems folded up, and opens somewhat like a rose bud, but continuous, and not in distinct pieces.

Sala. The pulp of this fruit is sweetish, acidulous, and of a pleasant flavor. The outer coat, in shape like a fig, is covered with scales, or the appearance of basket-work. When ripe, it is of a dark brown. It

encloses sometimes one, two, and three kernels, of a peculiar horny substance. The tree is low and thorny.

Jamboo mera or *jamboo cling*. This fruit is in shape like a pear or cone. The outer skin, which is very fine, is of a beautiful red, and the inside perfectly white. When ripe it is delicious eating, and has more substance than the generality of Indian fruits. In smell it resembles the rose, and the taste partakes slightly of that flavor. There is one species of it, which is called the rose-water jamboo. Nothing can be more beautiful than the blossoms, the numerous stamina of which are of a bright pink color. The tree, which grows in a handsome, regular, conical shape, has large, deep green, and pointed leaves. *Jamboo ayer*, is a delicate and beautiful fruit in appearance, being a mixture of white and pink. It is smaller than the *jamboo mera*, and not equal in its flavor, which is a faint, agreeable acid. The leaf is a deep green, pointed, and unequal.

Rambootan. The flavor of this fruit is a rich and pleasant acid. It is red, and covered with soft spines or hair, from whence its name. In appearance it is not unlike the arbutus, but larger, brighter red, and more hirsuted.

Besides those which I have attempted to give some description of, the following fine fruits are in great abundance, and to persons who have been in any part of India, in general well known. The *Mango*, by many esteemed an unrivalled fruit, is richer, but of a less delicate and elegant flavor than the mangusteen. The Plantain, *pesang*, or Indian fig, of which there are counted upwards of twelve varieties, including the banana. The Pine-apple (*'nanay*). These grow in great plenty without the smallest degree of culture, further than sticking the plants in the ground. Some think them inferior to those produced in Europe, but probably because their price is no more than two or three pence. With the same attention, they would doubtless be much superior, and their variety is very great. Oranges (*leemou*) of every species are in extreme perfection. The Pumplense, or Shaddock (so called in the West Indies from

from the name of the captain who carried them thither) is here very fine, and distinguished into the white and red sorts. Limes and lemons are abundant. The Guava or *jamboo protoocal*, as the Malays call it, is well known in the west of India, for a flavor which some admire, and others equally dislike. The inside pulp of the red sort is sometimes mixed with cream by the Europeans, to imitate strawberries, as we are naturally partial to what resembles the produce of our own country. Many I have known, amidst a profusion of the richest eastern fruits, to sigh for an English codling or gooseberry. Custard-apple, (*seerec cayoo*), derives its name from the likeness which its white and rich pulp bears to a custard, and it is accordingly eaten with a spoon. The Pomegranate (*nullemoi*) requires no comment. The Papa (*cakekee*) is a large, substantial, and wholesome fruit, but not very highly flavored. The pulp is yellow, and the seeds, which are about the size of a grain of pepper, have a hot taste like cresses. The Cashew-apple and nut (*jamboo eerong*) are well known for the strong acidity of the former, and the caustic quality of the oil contained in the latter, from tasting which the inexperienced often suffer. Rock or musk melons are not common, but the water melons are in great plenty. Tamarinds (*assam*) which are the produce of a large and noble tree, with small pinnated leaves, supply a grateful relief in fevers, which too frequently require it. The natives preserve them with salt, and use them as an acid ingredient in their curries and other dishes. It may be remarked, that in general they dislike sweets, and always prefer fruits whilst green, excepting perhaps the doorean and jack, to the same in their ripe state: the pine-apple they eat with salt. Grape-vines are planted with success by the Europeans, but are not cultivated by the people of the country. There is found in the woods a species of wild grape, called *pringat*; and also a fruit that resembles the strawberry.

The following fruits, growing mostly wild in the country, are not equally known with those already enumerated, yet many of them boast an exquisite flavor. *Booa candees*, (*booa* signifying fruit, is always prefixed to the particular name) *malacco*, *tampooee*, *rotan*, *neepab*, *roocum*,
rumpunni,

rumpunni, kuddoee, muncoodo, succoodoodoo, keetapon, embachang, tais, lessay, aman. Some of them however are little superior to our common berries, but probably might be improved by culture.

Flowers.

" You breathe, in the county of the Malays, says the writer whom I before quoted, an air impregnated with the odours of innumerable flowers of the greatest fragrance, of which there is a perpetual succession the year round, the sweet flavor of which captivates the soul, and inspires the most voluptuous sensations." Although this luxurious picture may be drawn in too warm tints, yet it is not without its degree of justness. The country people are fond of flowers in the ornament of their persons, and encourage their growth, as well as that of various odoriferous shrubs and trees.

The *canango*, being a tree of the largest size, and surpassed by few in the forest, may well take the lead, on that account, in a description of those which bear flowers. These are of a greenish yellow, scarcely distinguishable from the leaves, and seem to open only at sun-set, when they diffuse a fragrance around, that of a calm evening affects the senses at the distance of many hundred yards.

Choompaco (michelia). This tree grows in a regular, conical shape. The flowers are a kind of small tulip, but close and pointed at top : the color a deep yellow : the scent strong, and at a distance very agreeable. They are wrapped in the folds of the hair, both by women and young men who aim at gallantry.

Sangclappo. Pretty shrub. The leaves very deep green, with a long point. The flowers white, of the pink kind, but without visible stamina or pistil, the petals standing angularly like the sails of a windmill. *Pichar peering.* This is a grand white flower, and bears the same relation to the foregoing that the carnation does to the common pink. The Batavian catalogue calls it *clerodendrum*.

Boongo

Boongo rio. Tall, handsome shrub. The flower red, with juice of a deep purple; called also the shoe flower, from the purpose its juice has often been converted to by Europeans. Another sort has white flowers. The leaves of the tree are of a pale, yellowish green, serrated and curled.

Coombanganoojpor. This is always planted about graves. The flower is large, white, but yellow towards the center, of a strong scent, and consisting of five simple, smooth, thick petals, without visible pistil or stamina. The tree grows in a stunted, irregular manner, and even whilst young, has a venerable, antique appearance. The leaf is long, pointed, of a deep green, but most remarkable in this, that the fibres which run from the mid-rib, are bounded by another that goes in a waving line all round, within a small distance of the circumference, forming a kind of border.

Salandap (crinum or asphodel lily). It grows in a large umbell; each flower on a long footstalk, which divides into six large, white, turbinated petals, of an agreeable scent. The stamina are six in number, about two inches long. The leaves are of the spear kind, of a large size. This plant grows wild upon the beach, among those weeds which bind the loose sands. The Batavian catalogue calls the crinum, *bacong*. *Pandan oongey*. A beautiful species of the salandap. The generic marks are the same, but it is larger, and has a deep shade of purple mixed with the white.

Of the *pandan*, which is a shrub with very long prickly leaves, like those of the pine-apple or aloe, there are many varieties; of which one produces a whitish blossom, a foot or two in length, that has not much the appearance of a flower, but has a very strong odoriferous smell, which is perceived at a great distance. The common kind is employed for hedging. It is called elsewhere, *Caldera*.

The *Melloor* or *melattee* (nyctanthes) is an humble plant, bearing a pretty white flower, of the most agreeable scent, in the opinion of many,
that

that the country produces. It is much worn by the women, along with the boongoo tanjong, and usually planted near their houses. It may be remarked that "boongo" or flower, is always prefixed to the names of these, as "booa" to the fruit. Thus the natives say, *boongo meloor*, *boongo rio*.

Tanjong. A fair tree, rich in foliage, of a dark green: The flowers are radiated, and of a yellowish white. They are worn in wreaths by the women. The scent, though exquisite at a distance, is too powerful when brought nigh. The fruit is a drupe, enclosing a large, blackish, flattened seed.

Soondal mallam, or harlot of the night, from the circumstance of its blowing only at that time. This is a monopetalous, infundibuliform, white flower, of the tuberosc kind. The tubes, which rise from the single stem, divide into six, deep segments, pointed, slightly reflexed, and placed alternately under and over. The stamina, which are six, adhere closely to the inside of the tube, their apices only being free. The style rises from the germen only half way in the tube, separating at top into three stigmata.

Geering landa. A papilionaceous flower resembling the lupin, or the spartium more exactly. It is yellow, and tinged at the extremes with red. The leaves are broad, pointed, and treble on each stalk. The seed rattles loudly in the pod, from whence the name; "geering" signifying the small bells worn by children about their legs and arms; "landa" is a hedgehog, to the spines of which animal they probably may sometimes adhere.

Daoup. A white, homely flower; semiflorescous; faint smell. The leaves of the plant are curious, being double, as if two were joined together, and folding with an hinge. The pod resembles the French bean, and contains several flat seeds.

Taleong

Taboong broo, or monkey cup (*nepenthes*). A vine with an uncommon, monopetalous flower, growing on a tendril from the extremity of the leaf, in shape somewhat like the pod of a Windsor bean. At top is a cover, or valve, which opens and shuts with a hinge, but usually remains open, and as the cup is always erect, it is found full of water, from the rains or dews.

Imbang. A shrub, of which the leaf is small, light green, of an irregular figure. The flower is a light purple, with five yellow stamina. The fruit is very small, round, whitish, and bitter, but eaten by the natives.

Cacboobong (*datura*). Large white flower, monopetalous, infundibuliform, rather pentagonal than round, with a small hook at each angle. The stamina are five with one pointal. The shrub has much foilage; the leaves dark green, pointed, and square at the bottom. The fruit is of the shape of an apple, very prickly, and contains a multitude of seeds. It appears to grow mostly by the sea side.

Setacko. A pretty roseaceous, crimson flower, with five small petals, and as many stamina. It is a long tube, growing from a calyx covered with purple hair.

West coast creeper. I know not the country name. A beautiful little, crimson, monopetalous flower, divided into five angular segments. It has five stamina of unequal heights, purple, and one style, white, with a biform, rough stigma. The plant is a luxuriant creeper, with a hair-like leaf. The flower closes at sunset.

The scorpion-flower is singular and remarkable. In its shape it very much resembles the insect from which it takes its name, and the extremity of the tail has a strong smell of musk.

The foregoing is but an imperfect account of the flowers which are of the growth of Sumatra. Beside those, there are abundance, of which

which it is difficult to determine whether they are indigenous or exotics : such as the rose, or boongo *mowar*, which is always small, of a deep crimson color, and probably transplanted from the West of India : the globe amaranthus, which is found in great plenty in the Batta country, where strangers have very rarely penetrated : various kinds of pinks : the jessamine : holyhock ; with many others which seem to have had their origin from China.

The Sumatrans have a degree of botanical knowledge that surprises an European. They are in general, and at a very early age, acquainted, not only with the names, but the qualities and properties of every shrub and herb, amongst that exuberant variety with which these islands are clothed. They distinguish the sexes of many plants and trees ; (the *papa* or *calceke* for instance) and divide several of the genera into as many different species as our professors. Of the *pacoo* or fern, I have had specimens brought me of twelve varieties, which they told me were not the whole, and to each there is a distinct name.

Medicinal
shrubs and
herbs.

The shrubs and herbs employed medicinally are as follow. Scarce any of them are cultivated, being culled from the woods or plains as they happen to be wanted.

Lagoondee. This shrub grows to the height of five or six feet. The flower is small, monopetalous, divided into five segments, labiated ; grows in the manner of London-pride, with six or seven on each peduncle ; the color light blue ; has four stamina, and one style. The leaves are spear-shaped ; three on one common footstalk, and that in the middle being longest, it has the appearance of a hastated leaf : deep green on the inside and whitish on the back. The leaves have a strong aromatic flavor, their taste somewhat resembles that of the black currant, but is bitter and pungent. It is esteemed a fine antiseptic, and employed in fevers, in the stead of jesuit's bark. The natives also put it into granaries, and among cargoes of rice, to prevent the destruction of the grain by weevils.

Katoopong.

Katsopong. Resembles the nettle in growth; in fruit the blackberry. The leaf, being chewed, is used in dressing small, fresh wounds. *Sceup.* Bears the resemblance of a wild fig, in leaf and fruit. It is applied to the Neas scurf or leprosy, when not inveterate. *Succoodoodoo.* Has the appearance of a wild rose. A decoction of its leaves is used for curing a disorder in the sole of the foot, resembling the ringworm, called *mal-tres.* *Padoovovung.* An herb with a pointed, serrated leaf, bitter almost as rue. An infusion of it is taken for the relief of disorders in the bowels. *Cabco.* The bark and root are applied to cure the *coodees* or itch, rubbing it on the part affected. *Marampooyan.* The young shoots of this, are rubbed over the body and limbs after violent fatigue, having a refreshing, and corroborating quality. *Makee malee.* Plant with a white, umbellated blossom. The leaf is applied to reduce swellings. *Chappo.* Wild sage. It resembles the sage of Europe, in color, taste, smell and virtues, but grows to the height of six feet, and has a large, long, and jagged leaf, with a blossom resembling that of groundsel. *Mur-rueboongan.* A vine. The leaves broad, roundish, and smooth. The juice of the stalk is applied to cure excoriations of the tongue. *Ampi ampi.* A vine, with leaves resembling the box, and a small flosculous flower. It is used as a medicine in fevers. *Cadoo.* An herb. The leaf in shape and taste resembles the betel. It is burned to preserve children newly born from the influence of evil spirits (*Jin*). *Goombay.* A shrub with monopetalous, stellated, purple flowers, growing in tufts. The leaves are used in disorders of the bowels. *Taboolan boocan.* A shrub with a semi-flosculous flower, applied to the cure of sore eyes. *Cachang parang.* A bean, the pods of which are of a huge size: the beans are of a fine crimson. Used in pleuritic cases. *Seepeet.* A shrub with a large oval leaf, rough to the touch, and rigid. An infusion of it is drank in iliac affections. *Dacun sedingin.* Leaf of a remarkable cold quality. It is applied to the forehead to cure the head-ach, and sometimes in hot fevers.

Long pepper is used for medicinal purposes. Turmeric also, mixed with rice, reduced to powder, and then formed into a paste, is much used outwardly, in cases of colds, and pains in the bones; and chunam,

or quicklime, is likewise commonly rubbed on parts of the body affected with pain.

In the cure of the *bofs*, or *cooroo* (which is an obstruction of the spleen, forming a hard lump in the side, and giving rise to a species of fever, called *dumnum cooroo*) a decoction of the following plants is externally applied : *seepe t toongool* ; *madang tando* ; *atlee ayer* ; *tappar beffee* ; *pacoo teang* ; *tappar badda* ; *labban* ; *pesang rooco* ; and *pacoo lameedeen*.

A juice extracted from the *Malabattaye akkar* is taken inwardly.

In the cure of the *pooroo*, or ringworm, they apply the *galengang*, an herbaceous shrub, with large, pinnated leaves, and a yellow blossom : In the more inveterate cases, *barangan*, which is a species of colored arsenic or orpiment, and a strong poison, is used.

The white, milky juice that flows from the *sudusudu*, or Euphorbium, when an incision is made, the natives value highly as a medicine. The leaf of the tree is present death to sheep and goats.

Animals.

Animals—Beasts—Birds—Reptiles—Insects.

THE animal kingdom should claim attention, but the quadrupeds of the island being the same as are found elsewhere throughout the east, already well described, and not presenting any new species that I am acquainted with, I shall do little more than simply furnish a list of those which have occurred to my notice; adding a few observations, either here, or in the future course of the work, on such as may appear to require it. The *carbow*, or Malay buffalo, being an animal particularly belonging to these parts, and more serviceable to the country people than any other, I shall enter into some detail of its qualities and uses.

Animals.

Horse : *coodo*. The breed is small, well made, and hardy, Cow : *sappee*. Small breed. Buffalo : *carbow*. A particular description will follow. Sheep : *beeree-beeree*. Small breed, introduced probably from Bengal*. Goat : *cambing*. Beside the domestic species, which is in general small, and of a light brown color, there is the *cambing ootan*, or goat of the woods. One which I saw was three feet in height, and four feet in the length of the body. It had something of the gazelle in its appearance, and, excepting the horns, which were about six inches long, and turned back with an arch, it did not much resemble the common goat. The hinder parts were shaped like those of a bear, the rump sloping round off from the back. The tail was very small, and ended in a point. The legs clumsy. The hair, along the ridge of the back, rising coarse and strong, almost like bristles. No beard. Over the shoulder was a large spreading tuft of greyish hair : The rest of the hair black throughout. The scrotum globular. Its disposition seemed wild and fierce, and it is said by the natives to be remarkably swift. Hog : *babce*. That breed which we call Chinese. Dog : *angin* ; *cooyoo*. Curs with erect ears. Cat : *cocbin*. All their tails imperfect and knobbed at the end, as if cut or broken off. Rat : *teecoofe*. Elephant : *gaja*. Spoken of in another part. Rhinoceros : *buddab*. Hippopotamus : *coodo-ayer*. Tiger : *reemow* ; *machang*. Spoken of in another part. Bear : *broorong*. Small and

Beasts.

* A sheep is called *baeree* in the Hindostanic language.

and black; devours the hearts of the coconut trees. Otter : *angin-ayer*. Sloth. Stinkard : *teleggo*. Porcupine : *landa*. Armadillo : *tangeeling*. It perfectly resembles the animal of America. Very rare, and made great account of by the natives ; the scales being supposed medicinal. Deer : *roose* ; *keejang*. There is variety of the deer species ; of which some are very large. Wild hog : *babe ostan*. Hog deer : *babe roose*. Small and delicate animal ; one of those which produce the bezoar. Monkey : *moonia* ; *broo* ; *seermang*. Prodigious variety of this genus. Pole cat : *moosang*. Tiger cat : *cobin remow*. Civet cat : The natives take the civet from the vagina of these, as they require it for use. Squirrel : *troopje*. Small, dark species. Bat : *boorong tetcoose*. Many of considerable size, which pass in large flocks from one country to another ; hanging at times, by hundreds, on trees. Some perfectly resemble foxes, in shape and color ; but these cannot fly far.

Buffalo.

The buffalo (*carbow*), which constitutes a principal part of the food of the Sumatrans, is the only animal employed in their domestic labors. The inland people, where the country is tolerably clear, avail themselves of their strength to draw timber felled in the woods : the Malays, and other people on the coast train them to the draft, and sometimes to the plough. Though apparently of a dull, obstinate, capricious nature, the carbow acquires by habit a surprising docility, and its taught to lift the shafts of the cart with its horns, and place the yoke, which is fixed to those, across its neck ; needing no farther harness than a breast-band, and a string which is made to pass through the cartilage of the nostrils. They are also, for the service of the Europeans, trained to carry burthens suspended from each side of a pack saddle, in roads or paths where the use of carriages is impracticable. It is extremely slow, but steady in its work. The labor it performs falls short of what might be expected from its size, and apparent strength, the least extraordinary fatigue, particularly during the heat of the day, being sufficient to put a period to its life, which is at all times precarious. The owners frequently experience the loss of large herds, in a short space of time, by an epidemic distemper, called *bocndoong*, that seizes them suddenly, swells their bodies, and gives way to no remedy yet discovered. The most part of the
milk

milk and butter required by the Europeans (the natives using neither) is supplied by them ; and the milk is richer than what is there produced by the cow ; but not in the same quantity:

Though we have given to the *carbow* the name of *buffalo*, it is an animal very different from that known in the southern parts of Europe, by the same appellation, from the hide of which the buff leather is supposed to be manufactured. This from the description given in some of our books of natural history, resembles what we call in India, the Madagascar bull ; especially in the fleshy protuberance rising from the neck, and extending over the shoulder *. The carbow is a beast of greater and more equal bulk, in the extent of the barrel. The legs are shorter than those of the ox ; the hoofs larger ; the horns, which usually turn backward, but sometimes point forward, are always in the plane of the forehead, differing in that respect from those of all other cattle. Excepting near to the extremities, the horns are rather square than round ; contain much solid substance, and are valuable in manufacture. The tail hangs down to the middle joint of the leg only, is small, and terminates in a bunch of hair, which is very rare in all parts of the body ; scarcely serving to cover the hide. The neck is thick and finewy, nearly round, but somewhat flattened at top ; and has little or no dewlap dependent from it. The organ of generation in the male has an appearance, as if the extremity were cut off. It is not a salacious animal. The female goes nine months with calf, which it suckles during fix, from four teats. When crossing a river, it exhibits the singular sight, of carrying the young one on its back. It has a weak cry, in a sharp tone, very unlike the lowing of oxen.

The luxury of the carbow consists in rolling itself in a muddy pool, which it forms in any spot, for its convenience, during the rainy weather. This it enjoys in a high degree, dexterously throwing with its horn,

* Since I wrote the above I have been informed, that the Italian buffalo does not much differ in appearance from the *carbow*, and has no protuberance from the neck. The best engraved representation I have seen of the Malay buffalo, is in a work entitled *Jenfonus de Quadrupedibus*, Plate XX. Fig. 1. The horns, however, are there too small, the tail too long, and the pizzle ends is a point.

horn, the water and slime, when not of a sufficient depth to cover it, over its back and sides. Their blood perhaps is of a hot temperature, owing to which, this indulgence, quite necessary to their health, may be rendered so desirable to them; and the mud encrusting on their body, preserves them from the attack of insects, which otherwise prove very troublesome. The natives light fires for them at night, in order that the smoke may have the same effect, and they have, of their own accord, the sagacity to lay themselves down to leeward, that they may enjoy the full benefit of it.

They are distinguished into two sorts; the white and black. Both are equally employed in work, but the former is seldom killed for food. Some of the people say, that this exemption is owing to its being esteemed sacred, but I was assured by a learned padre, that it was neither forbidden by the Koraan, or any religious injunction, and that the Malays eat it, at times, without scruple; esteeming it however, very inferior to the black buffalo. The Rejangs also have no general exception to it. Some of them eat it; and some refuse, on the same account that induced the Rechabites to drink no wine, and to live in tents; a vow of their forefathers: whilst others are deterred by the accounts of the ill effects that have attended it; the body being observed to break out afterwards in blotches. Possibly the whiteness of the buffalo, may be owing to some species of disorder, as is the case with those people called white negros.

It is said not to be properly a wild animal of the country, though abounding in every part; which the name of *carbow gellan* (stray buffalos) given to those found in the woods, seems to confirm. Most probably they were at first wild, but were afterwards, from their use in labor and food, all caught, and domesticated by degrees, or killed in the attempts to take them. When they now collect in the woods, they are said to be stray cattle; as the people of a conquered province, attempting to recover their natural liberties, are styled rebels. They are gregarious, and commonly found in numbers together, being then less dangerous to passengers, than when met with singly. Like the turkey, they have an antipathy to a red color. When wild, they run extremely swift, keeping
pace

pace with the speed of a common horse. Upon an attack, or alarm, they fly for a short distance, and then suddenly face about, and draw up in battle array with surprizing quickness and regularity ; their horns being laid back, and their muzzles projecting. Upon the nearer approach of the danger that presses on them, they make a second flight, and a second time halt, and form : and this excellent mode of retreat, which but few nations of the human race have attained to such a degree of discipline as to adopt, they continue till they gain a neighbouring wood. Their principal foe, next to man, is the tiger ; but only the weaker sort, and the females, fall a certain prey to this ravager : the sturdy male buffalo can support the first vigorous stroke from the tiger's paw, on which the fate of the battle usually turns.

Of Birds there is a much greater variety than of beasts. To enumerate Birds, the different species is quite beyond my power. The most obvious are as follows : but I do not offer this list, as containing a tenth part of what might be found on the island, by a person who should confine his researches to this subject.

The *coo-oo*, or famous Sumatran or Argos pheasant, of which no complete specimen has been hitherto seen in Europe, is a bird of uncommon beauty ; the plumage being perhaps the most rich, without any degree of gaudiness, of all the feathered race. It is found extremely difficult to be kept alive for any considerable time after catching it in the woods. I have never known it effected for above a month. It has an antipathy to the light. When kept in a darkened place, it appears at its ease, and sometimes makes use of the note or call from which it takes its name, and which is rather plaintive, than harsh like the peacock's. In the open day it is quite moped and inanimate. The head is not equal in beauty to the rest of the bird. The flesh, of which I have eaten, perfectly resembles that of common pheasants, but it is of much larger size. These also abound in the woods.

There is a great variety of the stork kind; some of prodigious size, and otherwise curious; as the *boorong cambing*, and *boorong eolar*. Of doves there are two species, which have many varieties; the one brown, called *ballum*, and the other green, called *pooni*. The *pooni-jambo* is a very beautiful bird. It is smaller than the usual size of doves: the back, wings, and tail are green: the breast and crop are white, but the front of the latter has a light shade of pink: the forepart of the head is of a deep pink, resembling the blossom of the jambo fruit, from whence its name: the white of the breast is continued in a narrow streak, having the green on one side and pink on the other, half round the eye, which is large, full, and yellow; of which color is also the beak. They will live upon boiled rice, and paddee, but their favorite food, when wild, is the berry of the *rum-pooni*; doubtless therefore so called.

Of the parrot kind are many species; as the *kaykay*, *cocatoa*; parrot-quet, and *kory*. There are also, the kite; crow (*gagba*); plover (*che-rooling*); snipe; quail (*cooyoo*); wildduck; teal (*beleebec*); water-hen; lark; sea-lark; curlew; domestic hen (*ayam*), some with black bones, and some of the sort we call Friezland or negro fowls; hen of the woods (*ayam baroogo*); the *jago* breed of fowls, which abound in the southern end of Sumatra, and western of Java, are remarkably large: I have seen a cock peck off of a common dining table: when fatigued, they sit down on the first joint of the leg, and are then taller than the common fowls. It is strange if the same country, Bantam, produces likewise the diminutive breed that goes by that name. Paddee birds (*boorong peepee*), something like our sparrows, are in great plenty, and destroy the grain. The dial (*mocri*) has a pretty, but short note; there being no bird on the island which sings. The minor (*tecong*) has the faculty of imitating human speech in greater perfection than any other of the feathered tribe: there are both black, and yellow of them. Owls, particularly the great horned one; starling; kingfisher; swallow (*lyang*); *engang*, or rhinoceros bird: this is chiefly remarkable for what is called the horn, which reaches half way down the bill, and then turns up: the length of the bill of one I measured, was ten inches and an half;

half; the breadth, including the horn, six and an half; length, from beak to tail, four feet; wings, four feet, six inches; height one foot; length of neck, one foot: the beak is whitish; the horn, yellow and red, the body black; tail white and ringed with black; rump, and feathers on the legs, down to the heel, white: claws, three before and one behind: the iris red. In a hen chick there was no appearance of a horn, and the iris was whitish. They eat either boiled rice, or tender flesh meat.

Of Reptiles there is some variety. The lizard species are in abundance; from the *cokay*, which is ten or twelve inches long, and makes a very singular noise, to the smallest house lizard, of which I have seen some scarce half an inch in length. They are produced from eggs, about the size of a wren's. A remarkable circumstance respecting them, which I do not find mentioned in the accounts of any writer, is, that on a slight stroke, and sometimes through fear alone, they lose their tails; which soon begin to grow again. The tail may be separated, with the smallest force, and without loss of blood, or evident pain to the animal, at any of the vertebræ. The grass lizard is a species between those two. There is, I believe, no class of living creatures, in which the gradations may be traced with such minuteness and regularity, as in this. From the small house lizard abovementioned, to the largest aligator or crocodile, a chain may be observed containing almost innumerable links, of which the remotest will have a striking resemblance to each other, and seem, at first view, to differ only in bulk. The house lizard is the largest animal that can walk in an inverted situation: one of these, of size sufficient to swallow a cockroach, runs on the ceiling of a room, and in that posture seizes its prey with the utmost facility. This they are enabled to do, from the rugose make of their feet, with which they adhere strongly to the smoothest surface: sometimes however, on springing too eagerly at a fly, they lose their hold, and fall to the ground. They are always cold to the touch, and yet the transparency of the bodies of some of them, shews us that their fluids have as brisk a circulation as in other animals: in none that I have seen, is the peristaltic motion

Reptiles.

tion so obvious as in these. The female carries two eggs at a time, one in the lower, and one in the upper part of the abdomen, on opposite sides. They are called by the Malays "*cheechab*," from the noise they make.

Theameleon, and the flying lizard are also found on Sumatra. The former, including the tail, are about a foot and a half long; green, with brown spots, as I have them preserved. When seen alive in the woods, they are generally green; but not from the reflection of the trees, as some have supposed; and when caught, they usually turn brown; seemingly the effect of fear, as men become pale. Like others of the genus, they feed on flies, which the large size of their mouths is well adapted for catching. They have five long toes, armed with sharp claws, on the fore and hind feet. Along the spine, from the head to the middle of the back, little membranes stand up, like the teeth of a saw. The flying lizards are about eight inches long. The membrane which constitutes the wings, and which does not extend from, and connect with, the fore and hind leg, as in the bat species, is about two or three inches in length. They have flapped ears, and a kind of bag, or al-phorges, under the jaws. In other respects they much resemble the cameleon in appearance. They do not take distant flights, but merely from tree to tree, or from one bough to another. The country people take them in springes fastened to the stems.

With frogs and toads the swamps every where abound. These fall a prey to the snakes, which are found here of all sizes; though the largest I ever happened to see, was no more than twelve feet long. This was killed in a hen-house, where it was devouring the poultry. It is very surprizing, but no less true, that they will swallow animals of three or or four times their own apparent bulk or circumference; having in their jaws or throat, a compressive force, that reduces the prey to a convenient dimension. I have seen a small snake, with the hind legs of a frog sticking out of its mouth, each of them nearly equal to the smaller parts of its own body, which in the thickest did not exceed a man's little

little finger. The stories told, of their swallowing deer and buffalos, in Ceylon and Java, almost choke my belief, but I really cannot take upon me to pronounce them false. If a snake of three or four inches diameter, can gorge a fowl of six or eight inches, I see not but that a snake of thirty feet in length, and proportionate bulk and strength, might swallow almost any beast; after having smashed the bones, which they are said to do by twining round the animal. I imagine that the bite of very few of the snakes of Sumatra is mortal, as I have never met with a well authenticated instance of any person suffering from them, though they are very numerous, and frequently found in the houses. The hooded snake is found in the country, but is not common.

Insects, the island may literally be said to swarm with. I doubt if Insects. there is any part of the world, where greater variety is to be found; but this branch of natural knowledge has of late years become so extremely comprehensive, that I cannot take upon me to say there are many new and undescribed species. It is probable however that there are a few; but in order to ascertain these, it is necessary to have an accurate knowledge of those already classed, which I do not pretend to. I shall only make some few remarks upon the ant species, the multitudes of which overrun the country, and its varieties are not less extraordinary than its numbers. The white ant, or *termes*, I had intended a description of, with an account of its destructive effects, but this subject has lately been so elaborately treated by Mr. Smeathman*, who had an opportunity of observing them in Africa, that I purposely omit it as superfluous. Of the *formica*, the following distinctions are the most obvious. The *great red* ant, called by the Malays "*crango*:" this is about three fourths of an inch long; bites severely, and usually leaves its head, as a bee its sting, in the wound: it is found mostly on trees and bushes, and forms its nest, by fastening together, with a glutinous matter, a collection of the leaves of a bough, as they grow. The *common red* ant, resembling our *pismire*. The *minute red* ant, much smaller than the former. There

* See Philosophical Transactions for the year 1781.

are also, the *large black* ant, not equal in size to the crango, but with a head of extraordinary bulk; the *common black* ant; and the *minute black* ant. These I say are the most striking discriminations; but the classes are in fact, by many times more numerous, not only in the various gradations of size, but in a circumstance which I do not recollect to have been attended to by any naturalist; and that is, the difference with which they affect the taste, when put into the mouth; which often happens without design, and gave me the first occasion of noticing this singular mark of variety. Some are hot and acrid, some bitter, and some sour as verjuice. Perhaps this will be attributed to the different kinds of food they have accidentally devoured; but I never found one which tasted sweet, though I have caught them in the fact of robbing a sugar or honey pot. Each species of ant is a declared enemy of the other, and never suffers a divided empire. Where one party effects a settlement, the other is expelled; and in general they are powerful in proportion to their bulk; except the white ant, which is beaten from the field by others of inferior size; and for this reason it is a common expedient to strew sugar on the floor of a warehouse, in order to allure the formicæ to the spot, who do not fail to combat and overcome the ravaging, but unwarlike termites.

Productions of the island considered as articles of commerce. Pepper trade. Cultivation of pepper. Camphire. Benjamin. Cassia, &c.

OF those productions of Sumatra, which are regarded as articles of ^{Pepper.} commerce, the most important and most abundant is *Pepper*. This is the object of the East India company's trade thither, and this alone they keep exclusively in their own hands; their servants, and merchants under their protection, being free to deal in every other commodity the country affords.

Many of the chief inhabitants in different parts of the island, having, ^{Establishment of the trade.} as shall be elsewhere related more particularly, invited the English to form settlements in their respective districts, factories were accordingly established, and a permanency and regularity thus given to the trade, which was very uncertain whilst it depended upon the success of occasional voyages to the coast: disappointments ensuing not only from failure of adequate quantities of pepper to furnish cargoes when required, but also from the caprices and chicanery of the princes or chiefs with whom the disposal of it lay. These inconveniences were obviated when the agents of the company were enabled, by their residence on the spot, to inspect the state of the plantations, secure the collection of the produce, and make an estimate of the tonnage necessary to transmit it to Europe.

In order to bind the native chiefs to the observance of their original promises and professions, and to establish a plausible claim in opposition to the attempts of rival European powers to interfere in the trade of the country, Contracts, attended with much form and solemnity, were entered into with the former; by which they engaged to oblige all their dependants to cultivate pepper, and to secure to us the exclusive purchase of it; in return for which they were to be protected from their enemies,

enemies, supported in the rights of sovereignty, and to be paid a certain allowance, or custom, on the produce of their respective territories.

The price for many years paid for the pepper, was ten Spanish Dollars, or fifty shillings per *bahar* of five hundred weight. By a late resolution of the Company, with a view to the encouragement of the planters, it has been increased to fifteen dollars. The customs or duty to the chiefs, varying in different districts according to specific agreements, may be reckoned on an average, at one dollar and an half per *bahar*. This low price at which the natives submit to cultivate pepper for us, and which does not produce annually, to each man, more than eight dollars, according to the old rate of purchase; and the complete monopoly we have obtained of it, from Moco Moco northward, to Flat Point southward; as well as the quiet and peaceable demeanor of the people under such restrictions, is doubtless in a principal degree owing to the peculiar manner in which this part of the island is cut off from all communication with strangers, (who might inspire the people with ideas of profit and of resistance) by the surfs which rage along the southwest coast, and almost block up the rivers. The general want of anchorage too, for so many leagues to the northward of the Straits of Sunda, has in all ages deterred the Chinese and other eastern merchants, from attempting to establish an intercourse that must have been attended with imminent risk, to unskilful navigators. Indeed I understand it to be a tradition among those who border on the sea coasts, that it is not many hundred years since these parts began to be inhabited, and they all speak of their descent as derived from the more inland country.* Thus it appears that those natural obstructions which we are used to lament as the greatest detriment to our trade, are in fact advantages to which it in a great measure owes its existence. In the northern countries of the

* Beaulieu, who visited Sumatra in 1622, and took much pains to acquire authentic information, says that the southern part of the west coast was then woody and uninhabited; and though this was doubtless not strictly true, yet it shews the ideas entertained on the subject by the Malays, of whom he made his enquiries, and proves how little communication there was with the southern people.

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island, where the people are numerous and their ports good, they are found to be independent also, and refuse to cultivate plantations, upon any other terms, than those on which they can dispose of the produce of them to private traders.

The pepper-plant being scientifically arranged in our catalogues, and accurately described by good writers, it is almost unnecessary for me to say, that it is a vine, or creeping plant, with a ligneous stalk, and dark green leaves, heart shaped, pointed, not poignant to the taste, and having but little or no smell. The blossom is small and white, and the fruit hangs in bunches resembling those of the currant-tree, but longer and less pliant. It is four or five months in coming to maturity. The berries are at first green, turning to a bright red when ripe and in perfection, and soon fall off, if not gathered in proper time. As the whole cluster does not ripen at once, part of the berries would be lost in waiting for the latter ones : it is therefore necessary to pluck the bunch, as soon as its first berries ripen ; and it is even usual to gather them green, when they attain to their full growth. Small baskets slung over the shoulder, and a triangular ladder are used in collecting the fruit ; which, when gathered, is spread out upon mats, or smooth spots of clean, hard ground, without the garden. It there soon dries, and loses its color, becoming black and shrivelled, as we see it in Europe. That which is gathered at a proper age, will shrivel least : if plucked too soon, before the berry has acquired the due degree of hardness, it will in a short time, by removal from place to place, become mere dust. When spread to dry, it undergoes a kind of winnowing, to render it perfectly clean. As there will still, however, be light pepper among it, the planter being willing to throw away as little as possible, it must again be garbled at the scale, by machines for that purpose. A common trial of its goodness, is by rubbing it hard between both hands : if this produces little or no effect on it, the pepper is sound ; but if it has been gathered too young, or has been suffered to lie too long upon the earth, in moist weather,

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a great part of it will be reduced to dust. Pepper which has fallen to the ground over-ripe, and been gathered from thence, will be known by being deprived of its outer coat. It is in this state, an inferior kind of white pepper.

Cultivation of
pepper.

In the cultivation of pepper, the first circumstance that claims attention, and on which indeed the whole depends, is the choice of proper ground. The experiments hitherto made by Europeans have not been sufficiently accurate, to determine the particular soil that suits it best; but it appears to thrive with nearly equal vigor in all the different kinds between the two extremes; of sand, which prevails through the low country near the sea coast, and of the barren, yellow clay, of which is formed the greater part of the rising grounds, as they approach the hills. The latter indeed, at greater or less depth, constitutes generally the basis even of the best soils: but when covered by a coat of mould, not less than a foot deep, it is sufficiently fertile for every purpose of this cultivation. The level ground, along the banks of rivers, if not so low as to be flooded by the freshes, or even then, if the water does not remain upon it above a day, affords in general the most eligible spots, both in point of fertility, and the convenience of water carriage for the produce. Declivities, unless very gentle, are to be avoided; as the mould, loosened by culture, is liable in such situations, to be swept away by the heavy rains. Even plains, however, when covered by long grass only, will not be found to answer, without the assistance of the plough, and of manure; their long exposure to the sun, exhausting the source of their fertility. How far the produce in general might be increased by the introduction of these improvements in agriculture, I cannot take upon me to say, but I fear, that from the natural indolence of the people, and their averseness from the business of pepper-planting, owing in great measure to the small returns it yields them, they will never be prevailed upon to take more pains with it than they now do. The planter, therefore, depending more upon the natural quality of the soil, than on any improvement it may receive from his labor, will find none to suit his purpose better than that covered with old woods; whose rotting
trunks

trunks, and falling leaves, insure to him a degree of fertility, superior to any that is likely to be given to other ground, by a people with whom agriculture is in its infancy. Such spots are generally chosen by the industrious among them for their *laddangs* (paddee or rice plantations); and though the labor that attends them is considerable, and it may be presumed that their fertility can scarcely be so soon exhausted, it is very seldom that they seek from the same ground, a second crop of grain. Allured by the certainty of abundant produce from a virgin soil, and having land for the most part at will, they renew their labor annually, and desert the plantations of the preceding year. Such deserted plantations, however, are often favorable for pepper gardens; and young woods, of even three or four years growth (*balookar*), frequently cover ground of this nature, equal to any that is to be met with. Upon the whole, where variety of situations admits of choice, the preference is to be given, to level ground; moderately elevated; covered with wood; as near as may be to the banks of rivers or rivulets; and the surface of whose soil is a dark mould of proper depth. This is to be cleared as for a laddang; the underwood being first cut down, and left some days to wither, before the larger trees are felled. When completely dry, and after some continuance of fair weather, the whole is burned; and if effectually done, little is wanting to render the spot as clear as is requisite.

The garden ground is then marked out, in regular squares of six feet, or five Malay covits, the intended distance of the plants, of which there are usually a thousand in each garden. The next business is to plant the *chinkareens*. These are to serve as props to the pepper-vines, (as the Romans planted elms for their grapes) and are cuttings of a tree of that name, put in the ground several months before the pepper, that the shoot may be strong enough to support the plant, when it comes to twine round it. Sometimes the chinkareens are chosen six feet long, and the vine is then planted the same season, or as soon as the former is supposed to have taken root: but the principal objections to this method are, that in such state, they are very liable to fail, and require renewal, to the prejudice of the garden; that their shoots are not so vigorous as those of

the short cuttings; and that they frequently grow crooked. The circumstances which render the chinkareen particularly proper for this purpose, are, its easiness and quickness of growth; and the little thorns or spines with which it is armed, enabling the vine more firmly to adhere to it. Some, indeed, prefer the bitter chinkareen, (with a brownish red flower) though smooth, to the prickly, (bearing a white) because the elephant, which often proves destructive to the gardens, avoids the former, on account of its disagreeable taste, though it is not deterred by the spines, from devouring the other species. These, however, are more generally in use.

When the chinkareen has been some months planted, the most promising, perpendicular shoot, is to be reserved for growth, and the rest to be lopped off; and when it has attained to the height of two, or at most two fathoms and a half, it is to be headed or topped; no further height being required.

It has been often doubted, whether the growth and produce of the pepper-vine, is not considerably injured by the chinkareen, which must rob it of its proper nourishment, by exhausting the earth. On this principle, the vine, in other of the eastern islands, and particularly at *Borneo Proper*, is supported by poles that do not vegetate, as are hops in England. Yet it is by no means clear to me, that the Sumatran method is so disadvantageous as it may seem. By reason of the pepper vine lasting many years, whilst the poles, exposed to the sun and rain, and loaded with a considerable weight, cannot be supposed to last above two seasons; there must be a frequent shifting, which, notwithstanding the utmost care, must tear the plants, and often destroy them. Besides, it may perhaps be the case, that the shelter from the violent rays of the sun, afforded by the branches of the chinkareen, to the plants, and which, during the dry monsoon, is of the utmost consequence, may go near to counterbalance the injury occasioned by their roots: not to insist on the opinion of a celebrated writer; that trees, acting as siphons, derive from the air, and transmit to the earth, as much of the principle
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of vegetation, as is expended in their nourishment. I believe it is not observed, that ground, covered with large trees or other perennials, is much impoverished by them; which perhaps may only be the case with annuals. Of this however I do not pretend to judge.

The chinkareens are planted one fathom, or one fathom and a quarter, asunder, that they may not impede each other's growth, or keep too much of the air from the vines. The boughs are carefully lopt from the stem, and the top cut in such a manner, as to make it expand itself, for the purpose of more effectually shading the garden. The proper season for lopping them, is during the rainy months, or November, December, and January, which, beside the view to their shooting forth again towards the dry season, prevents the plants from being injured by the dropping from the branches. Great assiduity is required of the planters, to keep the gardens from being over-run with weeds and shrubs, which would soon choke the plants. These they remove with the *prang* (bill) and hoe; taking care not to injure the roots of the pepper: yet, in the hot months of June, July, and August, they suffer the ground to remain covered with *lallang* (long grass), as it contributes to mitigate the effects of the violent heat upon the earth, and preserves the dews, that at this time fall copiously, a longer time on the ground; which tends much to encourage the growth of the young vines, and those newly *turned down*.

The plants of the pepper are most commonly taken from the shoots that run along the earth, from the foot of an old vine; and as these, from almost every knot or joint, strike roots into the ground, and shoot up perpendicularly, a single joint, in this state, is a sufficient plant for propagation. It requires at first some little assistance, to train it to the chinkareen; but it will soon secure its hold, by the fibres that spread from the joints of its stem and branches.

Two vines are generally planted to one chinkareen. These are suffered to grow for three years, with only a little occasional attention; by which

which time they attain, according as the soil is fertile, the height off eight to twelve feet, and begin to shew their fruit. Then the operation of *turning down*, is performed ; for which, moderate rainy weather is necessary. They are cut off about three feet from the ground, and being loosened from the prop, are bent into the earth, in such a manner, that the upper end of the remaining stem returns to the roots, lying horizontally, and forming a kind of circle. This, by laying as it were a new foundation, is supposed to give fresh vigor to the plants, and they bear plentifully the ensuing season ; whereas, if permitted to run up in the natural way, they would exhaust themselves in leaves, and produce but little fruit. The garden should be turned down at the season when the clusters begin to ripen ; and there is said to be a great nicety in hitting the exact time ; for if it be done too soon, the vines sometimes do not bear for three years afterwards, like fresh plants ; and on the other hand also, the produce is retarded, when they omit to turn them down till after the fruit is gathered ; which, avarice of present, at the expence of future advantage, sometimes inclines them to. It is not very material how many stems the vine may have, in its first growth, but after turning down, two only, (or, if very strong, one) must be suffered to rise, and cling to the chinkareen : more are superfluous, and only weaken the whole. The surplus number may however be advantageously used, by being cut off at the root, on turning down, and transplanted either to the chinkareens, whose vines have failed, or to others, encreasing the garden. With these off-sets, whole gardens may be at once planted, and the stem thus removed will bear as soon, or nearly so, as that from which it has been taken. The chinkareen intended to receive them must, of course, be proportionably large. Where the plants or off-sets of this kind (called *lado angore*), can be procured in plenty, from gardens that are turning down, they are sometimes planted of the full size, two fathoms ; by which means, fruit may be obtained, at farthest, by the second season. The luxuriant side-shoots from the vines are to be plucked off ; as well as those that creep along the ground, unless where they may be required for plants ; and if the head of the vine becomes too bushy, it must be pruned away.

Besides

Besides the method already described, of turning down vines, the planters sometimes practise the following. The original vine when cut short, is not bent into the earth, but two or three of the best shoots from it are turned down, and let to spring up at some distance; being still brought back, and trained to the same chinkareen. By this means the nourishment is collected from a more extensive circuit of earth. Sometimes the gardens are suffered to grow without turning down at all; but as the produce is supposed to be considerably injured by the neglect, and doubtless with reason, the contrary is enjoined by the strictest orders.

When the vines originally planted to any of the chinkareens, are observed to fail or miss; instead of replacing them with new plants, they frequently conduct one of the shoots, or suckers, from a neighbouring vine, to the spot, through a trench made in the ground, and there suffer it to rise up anew; often at the distance of twelve or fourteen feet from the parent stock.

This practice of turning down the vines, which appears very singular, and certainly contributes to the duration, as well as strength of the plant, yet probably may amount to nothing more than a substitute for transplantation. The people of Europe observing that plants often fail to thrive, when permitted to grow up in the same beds where they were first set, found it expedient to remove them, at a certain period of their growth, to fresh situations. The Sumatrans observing the same failure, in the first case, had recourse to nearly the same alternative; but effected it in a different, and perhaps more advantageous mode. It should be remarked, that attempts have been made to propagate the pepper by cuttings, or layers, called *charrang*, instead of the usual method; which at first seemed to promise great success; but it was found that these did not continue to bear for an equal number of years; which was a powerful argument for discontinuing the experiment.

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The vines, as has been observed, generally begin to bear in three years from the time of planting ; but their produce is retarded for one, or perhaps two years, by the process of turning them down. This afterwards continues to encrease, till the seventh or eighth year, when the garden is esteemed in prime ; and that state it maintains, according to the goodness of the soil, for one, two, or three years, when it gradually declines, till it grows too old to bear. Fruit has been gathered from some at the age of twenty years ; but such instances are very uncommon.

A man and woman, if industrious, may with ease look after a garden of a thousand vines ; besides raising paddee sufficient for their subsistence : or one hard working man can perform it. In order to lighten the task, a crop of grain is commonly, and may without detriment, be raised from the garden ground in the first season. When cleared, just before they sow the paddee, the short chinkareens are to be planted, and when it is reaped, and the halm of it cleared away, these are of proper age to receive the vines. By thus uniting the objects of his culture, the planter may have a garden formed, without any other (for a season) than the usual labor necessary for raising provision for his family.

The pepper gardens are planted in even rows, running parallel and at right angles with each other. Their appearance is very beautiful, and rendered more striking by the contrast they exhibit to the wild scenes of nature which surround them. In highly cultivated countries, such as England, where landed property is all lined out, and bounded and intersected with walls and hedges, we endeavor to give our gardens and pleasure grounds, the charm of variety and novelty, by imitating the wildnesses of nature, in studied irregularities. Winding walks, hanging woods, craggy rocks, falls of water, are all looked upon as improvements ; and the stately avenues, the canals, and lawns of our ancestors, which afforded the beauty of contrast, in ruder times, are now exploded. This difference of taste is not merely the effect of caprice, nor entirely of refinement, but results from the change of circumstances. A man who should attempt to exhibit on Sumatra, the modern, or irregular style of laying

laying out grounds, would attract but little attention, as the unimproved scenes adjoining on every side, would probably eclipse his labors. Could he, on the contrary, raise up, amidst these magnificent wilds, one of the antiquated parterres, with its canals and fountains, whose symmetry he has learned to despise; his work would produce admiration and delight. A pepper garden cultivated in England, would not, in point of external appearance, be considered as an object of extraordinary beauty, and would be particularly found fault with for its uniformity; yet, in Sumatra, I never entered one, after travelling many miles, as is usually the case, through the woods, that I did not find myself affected with a strong sensation of pleasure. Perhaps the simple view of human industry, so scantily presented in that island, might contribute to this pleasure, by awakening those social feelings that nature has inspired us with, and which make our breasts glow on the perception of whatever indicates the happiness of our fellow creatures.

Once in every year, a survey of all the pepper plantations is taken by the Company's European servants, resident at the various settlements, in the neighbourhood of which that article is cultivated. The number of vines in each particular garden is counted; accurate observation is made of its state and condition; orders are given, where necessary, for further care, for completion of stipulated quantity, renewals, changes of situation for better soil; and rewards and punishments are distributed to the planters, as they appear, from the degree of their industry or remissness, deserving of either. Memorandums of all these are noted in the survey-book, which, beside giving present information to the chief, and to the governor and council, to whom a copy is transmitted, serves as a guide and check for the survey of the succeeding year. An abstract of the form of the book is as follows. It is divided into sundry columns, containing the name of the village; the names of the planters; the number of chinkareens planted; the number of vines just planted; of young vines, not in a bearing state, three classes or years; of young vines in a bearing state, three classes; of vines in prime; of those on decline; of those that are old, but still productive; the total number; and lastly the quantity of pepper received during

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during the year. A space is left for occasional remarks, and at the conclusion is subjoined a comparison of the totals of each column, for the whole district or residency, with those of the preceding year. This business, the reader will perceive to be attended with considerable trouble, exclusive of the actual fatigue of the surveys, which from the nature of the country, must necessarily be performed on foot, in a climate not very favorable to such excursions. The journeys in few places can be performed in less than a month, and often require a much longer time.

The inhabitants, by the original contracts of the head men with the company, are obliged to plant a certain number of vines; each family one thousand, and each young unmarried man, five hundred; and in order to keep up the succession of produce, so soon as their gardens attain to their prime state, they are ordered to prepare others, that they may begin to bear as the old ones fall off; but as this can seldom be enforced, till the decline becomes evident, and as young gardens are liable to various accidents, which older ones are exempt from, the succession is rendered incomplete, and the consequence is, that the annual produce of each district fluctuates, and is greater or less, in the proportion of the quantity of bearing vines to the whole number. To enter minutely into the detail of this business, will not afford much information or entertainment to the generality of readers, who will however be surprized to hear that pepper planting, though scarcely an art, so little skill appears to be employed in its cultivation, is nevertheless a very abstruse science. The profoundest investigations of very able heads have been bestowed on this subject, which took their rise from the censures naturally expressed by the Directors at home to the Servants abroad, for a supposed mismanagement, when the investment, as it is termed, of pepper, decreased in comparison with preceding years, and which the unfavorable seasons did not by any means account for satisfactorily. To obviate such charges, it became necessary for the gentlemen who superintended the business, to pay attention to, and explain the efficient causes which unavoidably occasioned this fluctuation, and to establish general principles

principles of calculation, by which to determine at any time, the probable future produce of the different residencies. These will depend upon a knowledge of the medium produce of a determinate number of vines, and the medium number to which this produce is to be applied ; both of which are to be ascertained only from a comprehensive view of the subject, and a nice discrimination. Nothing general can be determined from detached instances. It is not the produce of one particular plantation in one particular stage of bearing, and in one particular season ; but the mean produce of all the various classes of bearing vines collectively, drawn from the experience of several years, that can alone be depended on in calculations of this nature. So in regard to the medium number of vines presumed to exist at any residency in a future year, to which the medium produce of a certain number, one thousand for instance, is to be applied, the quantity of young vines of the first, second and third year, must not be indiscriminately advanced, in their whole extent, to the next annual stage, but a judicious allowance, founded on experience, must be made, for the accidents to which, in spite of a resident's utmost care, they will be exposed. Some are lost by neglect or death of the owner ; some are destroyed by inundations, others by elephants and wild buffalos, and some by unfavorable seasons, and from these several considerations, the number of vines will ever be found considerably decreased, by the time they have arrived at a bearing state. Another important object of consideration, in these matters, is the comparative state of a residency at any particular period, with what may be justly considered as its medium state. There must exist a determinate proportion between any number of bearing vines, and such a number of young as are necessary to replace them when they go off and keep up a regular succession. This will depend in general upon the length of time before they reach a bearing state, and during which they afterwards continue in it. If this certain proportion happens at any time to be disturbed, the produce must become irregular. Thus, if at any period, the number of bearing vines shall be found to exceed their just proportion to the total number, the produce, at such period, is to be considered as above the mean, and a subsequent decrease may be with certainty predicted, and

vice versa. If then this proportion can be known, and the state of population in a residency ascertained, it becomes easy to determine the true medium number of bearing vines in that residency.

There are, agreeably to the form of the survey book, eleven stages or classes of vines, each advanced one year. Of these classes, six are bearing, and five young. If therefore the gardens were not liable to accidents, but passed on from column to column undiminished, the true proportion of the bearing vines to the young would be as six to five, or to the total, as six to eleven. But the various contingencies above hinted at, must tend to reduce this proportion; while on the other hand, if any of the gardens should continue longer than is necessary to pass through all the stages on the survey book, or should remain more than one year in a prime state, these circumstances would tend to increase the proportion. What then is the true medium proportion, can only be determined from experience, and by comparing the state of a residency at various successive periods. In order to ascertain this point, a very ingenious gentleman, and able servant of the East India Company*, to whom I am indebted for the most part of what I have laid before the reader on this subject, drew out, in the year 1777, a general comparative view of Manna residency, from the surveys of twelve years, annexing the produce of each year. From the statement it appeared, that the proportion of the bearing vines to the whole number, in that district, was no more than 5,1 to 11, instead of 6 to 11, which would be the proportion if not reduced by accidents; and further, that when the whole produce of the twelve years was diffused over the whole number of bearing vines during that period, the produce of one thousand vines came out to be four hundred and fifty three pounds, which must therefore be estimated as the medium produce of that residency. The same principle of calculation being applied to the other residencies, it appeared, that the mean annual produce of one thousand vines, in all the various stages of bearing, taken collectively throughout the country, deduced from the experience of twelve years, was four hundred and

* Mr. John Crisp.

four pounds. It likewise became evident from the statements drawn out by that gentleman, that the medium annual produce of the company's settlements on the west coast of Sumatra, ought to be estimated at twelve hundred tons, of sixteen hundred weight; which is corroborated by an average of the actual receipts for any considerable number of years.

Thus much will be sufficient to give the reader an idea of pepper planting, as a science. How far, in a commercial light, this produce answers the Company's views in supporting the settlements, is foreign from my purpose to discuss, though it is a subject on which not a little might be said. It is the history of the island, and its inhabitants, and not of the European interests, that I attempt to lay before the public.

The natives distinguish three species of pepper, which are called at different places by different names. At Laye, in the Rejang country, they term them *lado Cawoor*, *lado Manna*, and *lado Jambee*, from the parts where each sort is supposed to prevail, or from whence it was first brought to them. The *lado Cawoor*, or Lampoon pepper, is the strongest plant, and bears the largest leaf and fruit; is slower in coming to perfection than the second, but of much longer duration. The leaf and fruit of *lado Manna* are somewhat smaller, and it has this peculiarity, that it bears soon and in large quantities, but seldom passes the third or fourth years crop. The *Jambee*, which has deservedly fallen into great disrepute, is of the smallest leaf and fruit, very short lived, and not without difficulty trained to the chinkareen. In some places to the southward they distinguish two kinds only, *lado Soodool* and *lado Jambee*. *Lado sooloor* and *lado angere* are not distinctions of species; the former denoting the young shoots of pepper commonly planted, in opposition to the latter, which is the term for planting by slips.

White pepper is manufactured by stripping the outer husk or coat from the ripe and perfect grains. This was for centuries supposed in Europe to have been the produce of a different plant, and to possess qualities superior to the common sort; on the strength of which idea, it used to

White Pepper.

to sell for some time, at the India sales, for treble the price of the black. But it lost this advantage as soon as it came to be known, that the secret depended merely on the art of blanching the common pepper. For this purpose it is steeped for a certain time; about a fortnight; in water, in pits dug for the occasion in the banks of rivers, and sometimes in swamps and stagnant pools; till by swelling it bursts its tegument, from which it is afterwards carefully separated by drying it in the sun and rubbing it between the hands. It has been much disputed, and is still undetermined, to which sort the preference ought to be given. The white pepper has this superiority, that it can be made of no other than the best and soundest grains, taken at the properest state of maturity: but on the other hand it is argued, that by being suffered to steep the necessary time in water, its strength is considerably diminished, and that the outer husk which is lost by the process, has a peculiar flavor distinct from that of the heart, and though not so poignant, more aromatic. The white pepper stands the Company in about three times the price of the black; owing to the encouragement they were obliged to give the planters to induce them to deviate from their accustomed track; but having been sold a few years ago at an equal, and I believe one season at an inferior rate, orders were sent out for restraining the manufacture to a very small quantity.

Pepper Seasons.

The season of the pepper vines bearing, as well as that of most other fruits on Sumatra, is subject to great irregularities, owing perhaps to the uncertainty of the monsoons, which are not there so strictly periodical, as on the western side of India. Generally speaking, however, the pepper produces two crops in the year; one called the greater crop, (*poepool augoong*) about the month of September, the other called the lesser or half crop (*booa lallo*) about the month of March. Sometimes in particular districts, they will be employed in gathering it in small quantities, during the whole year round; blossoms and ripe fruit appearing together on the same vine; whilst perhaps in others, the produce is that year confined to one crop. In Laye residency, the principal harvest of pepper, in the year 1766, was gathered between the Months of February and May, in

1767 and 1768, about September and October; in 1778, between June and August, and for the four succeeding years was seldom received earlier than November and December. Long continued droughts, which sometimes happen, stop the vegetation of the vines, and retard the produce. This was particularly experienced in the year 1775, when for a period of about eight months, scarcely a shower of rain fell to moisten the earth. The vines were deprived of their foliage; many gardens perished, and a general destruction was expected. But this apparent calamity was attended with a consequence not foreseen, though analogous to the usual operations of nature in that climate. The natives, when they would force a tree that is backward, to produce fruit, strip it of its leaves, by which means the nutritive juices are reserved for that more important use, and the blossoms soon begin to shew themselves in abundance. A similar effect was displayed in the pepper gardens, by the inclemency of the season. The vines, as soon as the rains began to descend, threw out blossoms in a profusion unknown before; old gardens which had been unprolific for two or three years began to bear; and accordingly the crop of 1776,7 considerably surpassed that of many preceding years.

The pepper is mostly brought down from the country on rafts (*rackee*) which are sometimes composed of rough timbers, but usually of large bamboos, with a platform of the same, split, to keep the cargo dry. They are steered at both head and stern, in the more rapid rivers, with a kind of rudder, or scull rather, having a broad blade, fixed in a fork or crutch. Those who steer are obliged to exert the whole strength of the body, in those places especially where the fall of water is steep, and the course winding. But the purchase of the scull is of so great power, that they can move the raft bodily across the river, when both ends are acted upon at the same time. But notwithstanding their great dexterity, and their judgment in choosing the channel, they are liable to meet with obstruction in large trees and rocks, which, from the violence of the stream, upset, and sometimes dash their raft to pieces.

It

It is a generally received opinion, that pepper does not sustain any damage by an immersion in sea water; a circumstance that attends perhaps a fourth part of the whole quantity shipped from the coast. The surf, through which it is carried in an open boat, called a *sampan lonchore*, renders such accidents unavoidable. This boat, which carries one or two tons, being hauled up on the beach, and there loaded, is shoved off, with a few people in her, by a number collected for that purpose, who watch the opportunity of a lull, or temporary intermission of the swell. A *tombongon*, or country vessel, built to contain from ten to twenty tons, lies at anchor without, to receive the cargoes from the sampans. At many places, where the *qualloes*, or mouths of the rivers, are tolerable practicable, the pepper is sent out at once in the tombongons, over the bar; but this, owing to the common shallowness of the water, and violence of the surfs, is attended with considerable risk. Thus the pepper is conveyed, either to the warehouses at the Presidency, or to the ship from Europe lying there to receive it.

Camphire.

Among the other commodities of the island, a conspicuous place belongs to the camphire.

This, distinguished among us by the epithet of native camphire, and called by the Malays, *Capoor Barroos*, is a production for which Sumatra, as well as Borneo, has in all ages been much celebrated; the Arabians being, at a very early period, acquainted with its virtues. Chymists have entertained opinions extremely discordant, in regard both to the nature and properties of camphire; and even at this day it seems to be but imperfectly known. I shall not attempt to decide whether it be a resin or not; though the circumstance of its being soluble in spirits and not in water, would seem to entitle it to that class; nor shall I pretend to determine whether its qualities, as a medicine, are hot or cold. My province is to mention such particulars of its history as have come within the scope of my own observation, leaving to others to speculate upon its uses.

The

The camphire tree is a native of the northern parts of the island only, growing, without cultivation, in the woods which lie near to the sea coast, and is equal in height and bulk, to the largest timber trees, being frequently found upwards of fifteen feet in circumference. The leaf is small, of a roundish oval, ending in a long point or tail; the fibres running all parallel and nearly straight. The wood is in much esteem for carpenter's purposes, being easy to work, light, durable, and not liable to be injured by insects, particularly by the *coombang*, a species of bee, which from its faculty of boring timber, for its nest, is called in common, the *carpenter*.

The camphire, being of a dry nature does not exude from the tree, or manifest any appearance on the outside. The natives, from long experience, know whether any is contained within, by striking it with a stick. In that case, they cut it down and split it with wedges into small pieces, finding the camphire in the interstices in the state of a concrete crystallization. Some have asserted that it is from the old trees alone that this substance is procured, and that in the young tree it is in a fluid state, called *meenja capoor*, or camphire oil; but this, I have good authority to pronounce a mistake. The same kind of tree that produces the fluid, does not produce the dry, transparent, and flaky substance; nor ever would. They are readily distinguished by the natives. Many of the trees, however, produce neither the one nor the other.

The native camphire is purchased on the spot, at the rate of six Spanish dollars the pound, or eight dollars the catty, for the best sort; which sells at the Chipa market, for about twelve or fifteen hundred dollars the pecul of an hundred catties, or one hundred, thirty three pounds and a third. The traders distinguish usually three different degrees of quality in it, by the names of head, belly and foot, according to its purity and whiteness, which depend upon its being more or less free from particles of the wood, and other heterogeneous matter, that mix with it in collecting, after the first large pieces are picked out. Some add a fourth sort, of extraordinary fineness, of which a few pounds only

are imported to Canton, in the year, and sell there at the rate of two thousand dollars the pecul*.

The Chinese prepare, it is generally supposed, a factitious substance resembling this native camphire, and impregnated with its virtues, by the admixture of a small quantity of the genuine; which they sell to the Dutch for thirty or forty dollars the pecul, who afterwards refine it to the state in which we see it in our shops, where it is sold for eight shillings the pound weight. This appears an extraordinary circumstance, that any article could possibly be so adulterated, and at the same time bear the likeness, and retain the qualities of its original, as that the dealers should be able, with profit to themselves, to sell it again for the fiftieth part of the price they gave. But upon inquiry of an ingenious gentleman long resident in China, I learned that the Chinese, or more properly, the Japan camphire, is not a factitious substance, but the pure produce of a tree which grows in abundance in the latter country, different entirely from that of Sumatra, and well known to our botanists by the name of *Laurus Camphora*†: that they never mix the native sort (as we term it) with the Japan, but purchase the former for their own use, at the above extravagant price, from an idea, superstitious probably, of its efficacy, and export the latter, as a drug they hold in no estimation. Thus, we buy the leaves of their tea plant, at a high rate, and neglect herbs, the produce of our own soil, possessing perhaps equal virtues. It is known, that the camphire termed factitious will evaporate till it wholly disappears, and at all periods of its diminution, retain its full strength; which do not seem the properties of an adulterated or compounded body. Kerner says that it is prepared from a decoction of the wood and roots of the tree, cut into small pieces. The native sort,

* See Price Currents of the China Market. Camphire was purchased on Sumatra by Beaulieu, in 1622, at the rate of fifteen Spanish dollars for twenty eight ounces, which differs but little from the modern price.

† Specimens of the Leaves of the Japan Camphire tree, and those of the Sumatran or Bornean Camphire, may be seen in a plate in *Valentini Historia Singulorum*. Page 488. Tab. 7.

though

though doubtless from its volatility it must be subject to some decrease, does not appear to lose much in quantity from being kept, as I have particular experience of. What I had of the Chinese sort is long since evaporated. I know not what superiority in the materia medica, is allowed to the *capor baros*, in point of efficacy: it is possibly considerable, though certainly not in the proportion of fifty to one. Perhaps it may not have had a fair trial, being rarely brought to Europe but as a curiosity.

The camphire oil before mentioned, is a valuable domestic medicine, and much used by the Sumatrans, in strains, swellings, and inflammations, the particles, from their extreme subtilty, readily entering the pores. It is not manufactured, undergoes no preparation, and though termed an oil, is rather a liquid and volatile resin, distilling from one species of the camphire tree, without any oleaginous quality. To procure it, they proceed in the following manner. They make a transverse incision into the tree, to the depth of some inches, and then cut sloping downwards from above the notch, till they leave a flat, horizontal superficies. This they hollow out, till it is of a capacity to receive about a quart. They then put into the hollow, a bit of lighted reed, and let it remain for about ten minutes, which acting as a stimulus, draws the fluid to that part. In the space of a night, the liquor fills the receptacle prepared for it, and the tree continues to yield a lesser quantity, for three successive nights, when fire must be again applied: but on a few repetitions it is exhausted. An oil not much unlike that from the camphire, is procured from another tree, by the same method. It is called *menia cayee* or wood oil; and is used to rub on timber exposed to the weather, to preserve it from decay; and it is also boiled with the *dammer* to pay the bottoms of ships and boats.

Benjamin or benzoin (*camiryan*), called a guth, though from its solubility in spirits it would seem more properly a resin, is produced from a tree which grows in great abundance in the northern parts of the island, particularly in the *Batta* country, and met with, though

Benjamin.

rarely, to the southward of the line, where, from natural inferiority, or want of skill in collecting it, the small quantity produced is black and of little value. The tree does not grow to any considerable size, and is never used as timber. The seeds are round, of a brown color, and about the size of a moderate bolus. The leaves are rough, crisp, inclining to curl at the point, and yield a very strong scent, resembling that of turpentine, more than of their proper gum. In some places, near the sea coast, the natives cultivate large plantations of it, as the quickness of its growth affords them a probability of reaping the advantage of their industry, which they could scarcely expect from the camphire tree, and I believe that none of them are so provident as to look forward to the benefit of posterity. The seeds or nuts are sown in the paddee fields, and afterwards require no other cultivation than to clear away the shrubs from about them. When the trees are grown so big, as to have trunks of six or eight inches in diameter, incisions are then made in the bark, from whence afterwards the gum exudes, which is carefully pared off with a knife. The purest of the gum, coming first from the tree, is white, soft and fragrant, and is called head benjamin, according to the usual distinction of the qualities of drugs in India. The inferior sorts, which, in the operation, are more or less mixed with the parings, and perhaps other juices of the tree, are darker colored, and harder; particularly the foot, which is very foul. The trees will seldom bear a repetition of these incisions more than ten or twelve years. The head is subdivided into Europe and India head, of which the first is superior, and is the only sort adapted to that market: the other, with most of the belly, goes to Arabia, the Gulph of Persia, and some places in India, where it is burned, as in the Malay islands, to perfume the houses, expel troublesome insects, and obviate the pernicious effects of unwholesome air, or noxious exhalations. It is brought down from the country in *tompangs* or large cakes, covered with matting. In order to pack it in chests, it is necessary to soften with boiling water the coarser sorts; the head benjamin is broken into pieces, and exposed to the heat of the sun, which proves sufficient to run it down. The greatest part of the quantity brought to England, is exported from thence

thence again to the Roman catholic countries, where it is burnt as incense in their religious rites. The remainder is chiefly employed in medicine, being much esteemed as an expectorant and styptic, and constitutes the basis of that valuable balsam, distinguished by the name of Turlington, whose very salutary effects, particularly in the cure of green and other wounds, is well known to gentlemen abroad, who cannot always obtain assistance from the faculty, and to which I can bear myself, the amplest testimony. It is also employed, if I am not misinformed, in the composition of our court sticking plaister. There is reason to regret that its virtues have not been more carefully explored, as there is the strongest presumption of its possessing as powerful and salubrious qualities, as any vegetable production in the *materia medica*. I have not a doubt but that some physician of genius, assisted by the skill of an able chymist, will one day bring this article, as well as camphire, which has been too much, though not equally neglected, into the repute they seem so eminently to deserve. There are two other species of Benjamin; the one distinguished by the epithet of scented (*doolang*) from its peculiar fragrance; and the other, a wild sort (*roxemalla*) of little value, and not considered as an object of commerce.

Cassia (*cooleet manees*). This is a coarse species of cinnamon, well known in Europe, which flourishes chiefly as well as the two foregoing articles, in the northern part of the island; but with this difference, that the camphire and benjamin grow only near the coast, whereas the cassia is a native of the central parts of the country. It is mostly procured in those districts which lie inland of *Tappanooly*, but it is also found in *Moossee*, where *Palembang* river takes its rise. The leaves are about four inches long, narrower than the bay, (to which tribe it belongs) and more pointed; deep green; smooth surface, and plain edge. The principal fibres take their rise from the peduncle. The young leaves are mostly of reddish hue. The blossoms grow six in number upon slender footstalks, close to the bottom of the leaf. They are monopetalous, small, white, stellated in six points. The stamina are six, with one style, growing from the germen, which stands up in three brownish segments, resembling

sembling a cup. The trees grow from fifty to sixty feet high, with large, spreading, horizontal branches, almost as low as the earth. The root is said to contain much camphire, that may be obtained by boiling or other processes unknown on Sumatra. No pains is bestowed on the cultivation of the cassia. The bark, which is the part in use, is commonly taken from such of the trees as are a foot or eighteen inches diameter, for when they are younger, it is said to be so thin, as to lose all its qualities very soon. The difference of soil and situation alters considerably the value of the bark. Those trees which grow in a high, rocky soil, have red shoots, and the bark is superior to that which is produced in a moist clay, where the shoots are green. I have been assured by a person of extensive knowledge, that the cassia produced on Sumatra, is from the same tree which yields the true cinnamon, and that the apparent difference arises from the less judicious manner of quilling it. Perhaps the younger and more tender branches should be preferred; perhaps the age of the tree, or the season of the year ought to be more nicely attended to; and lastly I have known it to be suggested, that the mucilaginous slime which adheres to the inside of the fresh peeled rind, does, when not carefully wiped off, injure the flavor of the cassia, and render it inferior to that of the cinnamon. I am informed that it has been purchased by Dutch merchants at our India sales, where it sometimes sold to much loss, and afterwards by them shipped for Spain, as cinnamon, being packed in boxes which had come from Ceylon with that article.

Rattans.

Rattans (*rotan*) furnish annually many large cargoes, chiefly from the eastern side of the island, where the Dutch buy them to send to Europe; and the country traders, for the western parts of India. Canes also, of various kinds, are produced in the parts which open to the straits of *Malacca*.

Cotton.

In almost every part of the country two species of cotton are cultivated, namely, the annual sort (*gossypium herbaceum*), and the shrub cotton (*gossypium arboreum*). The cotton procured from both appears to be of very good quality, and might, with encouragement, be procured in
any

any quantities; but the natives raise no more than is necessary for their own domestic manufactures. The silk cotton (*bombax cciba*) is also to be met with in every village. This is, to appearance, one of the most beautiful raw materials the hand of nature has presented. Its fineness, gloss, and delicate softness, render it, to the sight and touch, much superior to the labor of the silkworm; but owing to the shortness and brittleness of the staple, it is esteemed unfit for the reel and loom, and is only applied to the unworthy purpose of stuffing pillows and mattresses. Possibly it has not undergone a fair trial in the hands of our ingenious artists, and we may yet see it converted into a valuable manufacture. It grows in pods, from four to six inches long, which burst open when ripe. The seeds entirely resemble the black pepper, but are without taste. The tree is remarkable, from the branches growing out perfectly straight and horizontal, and being always three, forming equal angles, at the same height: the diminutive shoots likewise grow flat; and the several gradations of branches observe the same regularity to the top. Some travellers have called it the umbrella tree, but the piece of furniture called a dumb waiter, exhibits a more striking picture of it.

The penang or betel nut, before mentioned, is a considerable article of traffick to the coast of Coromandel or Telinga, particularly from Acheen. Betel Nut.

The coffee trees are universally planted, but the fruit produced here is not excellent in quality, which is probably owing entirely to the want of skill in the management of them. The plants are disposed too close to each other, and are so much overshaded by other trees, that the sun cannot penetrate to the fruit; owing to which the juices are not well ripened, and the berries, which become large, do not acquire a proper flavor. Add to this, that the berries are gathered whilst red, which is before they have arrived at a due degree of maturity, and which the Arabs always permit them to attain to, esteeming it essential to the goodness of the coffee. As the tree is of the same species with that cultivated in Arabia, there is little doubt but with proper care, this article might Coffee.

might be produced of a quality equal, perhaps superior, to that imported from the West Indies; though probably the heavy rains on Sumatra, may prevent its attaining to the perfection of the coffee of Mocha *.

Turpentine.

The *dammar* is a species of turpentine, and used for the same purposes to which that and pitch are applied. It is exported in large quantities to Bengal and elsewhere. It exudes, or flows rather, spontaneously, from the tree in such plenty, that there is no need of making incisions to procure it. The natives gather it in lumps from the ground, where it has fallen, or collect it from the shores of bays and rivers, whither it has floated. It hangs from the bough of the tree which produces it, in large pieces, and hardening in the air it becomes brittle, and is blown off by the first high wind. When a quantity of it has fallen in the same place, it appears like a rock, and thence, they say, or more probably from its hardness, it is called dammar *battoo*; by which name it is distinguished from the dammar *cruyen*. This is another species of turpentine, yielded by a tree growing in Lampoon called *cruyen*, the wood of which is white and porous. It differs from the common sort, or dammar battoo, in being soft and whitish, having the consistence, and somewhat the appearance of putty. It is in much estimation for paying the bottoms of vessels, for which use, to give it firmness and duration, it ought to be mixed with some of the hard kind, of which it corrects the brittleness. The natives, in common, do not boil it, but rub or smear it on with their hands; a practice which is probably derived from indolence, unless, as I have been informed, that boiling it, without oil, renders it hard. To procure it, an incision is made in the tree.

Gum.

There is a gum produced abundantly from a tree called *Paty*, which much resembles gum arabic, and as they belong to the same genus of plants, it is not improbable that this might answer equally well, for

* This observation on the growth of the coffee, as well as many others on the vegetable productions of the island, I am indebted for, to the letters of Mr. Charles Miller, entered on the Company's records at Bencoolen.

every purpose the other is applied to. There is likewise a gum which I have seen in small quantities, brought from the country, called *ampallou*, which I believe to be gum *lacca*, resembling it in hardness and color.

The forests contain a great variety of valuable species of wood, which though not in general considered by the natives as objects of trade, are employed as such in other countries, and might perhaps in this be turned to account, if properly attended to. Ebony trees (*jooar*) are in the greatest plenty. *Cayoo gaddees*, a tree possessing the flavor, qualities, and virtues of the Sassafras, but liker to the elm, than the fir, which that of South America is said to resemble, grows in great abundance, and is used in medicine, as a sweetener of the blood. The spruce pines which Captain Cook mentions to have met with in different islands of the South Sea, particularly at that which he named the isle of Pines, appear from the description and the plate, to be exactly the same with the *arcu* of Sumatra, which we have been used to call the bastard pine, without reflecting on the probability of its yielding the spruce. I have before remarked of this tree, that it delights in a low, sandy soil, and is ever the first that grows on land relinquished by the sea: by what means propagated, I know not, unless the cones float on the water, and are driven on the beach by the tide. On the west coast of Sumatra, there are no *arou* trees to be met with to the southward of Allasé, except near Siggin bay, where the river is called *Wye arou*. Sandal wood (*chendana*), also the celebrated eagle or aloes wood (*garoo*), are the produce of this island, and have been much boasted of by the early writers; but I suspect that they have, since those days, lost much of their reputation, as well as the different kinds of bezoars, procured from the bodies of various animals, which are now suffered to live unmolested. For ship-building there is much excellent timber, and some which is found by experience to resist the worm, but the shallowness of the rivers and dangerous surfs, will ever prevent its being made use of for that important purpose. Teak (*jattee*), the pride of the eastern forests, though growing in abundance to the north and south of the island, at Pegu and Java,

Variety of wood.

Ebony.

Pine.

Sandal.

Eagle or Aloes.

Teak.

Manchineel.

Iron-wood.

Java, is there scarce to be met with, except where it has been recently planted *. This wood is in many respects preferable to oak, working more kindly, and equal, at least, in point of duration; many ships built of it at Bombay, continuing to swim for so many years, that none can recollect the period at which they were launched. Its appearance is stately; the leaves are broad and large, and yield when pressed a red juice. The *rangee* or manchineel, well known in the West Indies, is found here, and proves useful from its quality of resisting the destructive ravages of the termites or white ant. The iron wood (*cayoo tray*) is from its extraordinary hardness, applicable to many useful purposes. *Maranti maracooly* and *murbow*, are in much estimation for building. *Camooning*; the appearance of this tree is very beautiful, resembling in its leaves the larger myrtle, with a white flower. The wood, which is light-colored, close, and finely veined, takes an exquisite polish, and is used for the sheaths of creeses. There is also a red grained species inferior to this. *Langsanni* has likewise a beautiful grain, and is used for cabinet and carved work.

Banyan-tree.

The foregoing is but a very imperfect view of the treasures of forests, that seem to possess an inexhaustible fund of variety, but of which it must be owned, that the greater number of the species of wood, from their porous nature, and proneness to decay, are of very little value, and scarcely admit of seasoning, ere they become rotten. Before I quit the subject I cannot avoid mentioning a tree, which though of no use, and not peculiar to the island, deserves, for its extreme singularity, that it should not be passed over in silence. I mean that which is, by the English in the West of India, termed the *banyan* tree; by the Portuguese *arbor de raiis*, and by the Malays called *jawee jawee*. It possesses the uncommon property of dropping roots or fibres from certain parts of its

* Mr. John Marfden, when resident of Lave, in the year 1776, sowed some seeds of the Teak tree and distributed a quantity amongst the inhabitants of his district. The former at least thrived exceedingly, as if in their natural soil. Mr. Robert Hay had a plantation of them near Bencoolen, but the situation seemed unfavorable. At Pegu it is said to be called *tecam*, from whence the name of *teak*.

boughs, which, when they touch the earth, become new stems, and go on increasing to such an extent, that some have measured in circumference of the branches, upwards of a thousand feet, and have been said to afford shelter to a troop of horse. These fibres, that look like ropes attached to the branches, when they meet with any obstruction in their descent, conform themselves to the shape of the resisting body, and thus occasion many curious metamorphoses. I recollect seeing them stand in the perfect shape of a gate, long after the original posts, and cross piece, had decayed and disappeared; and I have been told of their lining the internal circumference of a large brick well, like the worm in a distiller's tub; there exhibiting the view of a tree turned inside out, the branches pointing to the center, instead of growing from it. It is not more extraordinary in its manner of growth, than whimsical and fantastic in its choice of situations. From the side of a wall or the top of a house, it seems to spring spontaneous. Even from the smooth periphery of a wooden pillar, turned and painted, I have seen it shoot forth, as if the vegetative juices of the seasoned timber had renewed their circulation, and begun to produce leaves afresh. I have seen it flourish in the center of a hollow tree, of a very different species, which however still retained its verdure, its branches encompassing those of the *jawee jawee*, whilst its decayed trunk enclosed the stem, which was visible, at interstices, from nearly the level of the plain on which they grew. This, in truth, appeared so striking a curiosity, that I have often repaired to the spot, to contemplate the singularity of it. How the seed, from which it is produced, happens to occupy stations seemingly so unnatural, is not easily determined. Some have imagined the berries carried thither by the wind, and others, with more appearance of truth, by the birds; which, cleansing their bills where they light, or attempt to, light, leave, in those places, the seeds, adhering by the viscous

* The following is an account of the dimensions of a remarkable Banyan or Burr tree, near Manjee, twenty miles west of Patna in Bengal. Diameter 363 to 375 feet. Circumference of shadow at noon, 1116 feet. Circumference of the several stems, in number fifty or sixty, 921 feet. Under this tree sat a naked Fakir, who had occupied that situation for twenty five years; but he did not continue there the whole year through, for his vow obliged him to lie, during the four cold months, up to his neck in the waters of the river Ganges.

matter which surrounds them. However this be, the *jawee jawee*, without earth or water, deriving from the genial atmosphere its principle of nourishment, proves in its increasing growth, highly destructive to the building that harbours it. The fibrous roots, which are at first extremely fine, penetrate common cements, and overcoming, as their size enlarges, the most powerful resistance, split, with the force of the mechanic wedge, the most substantial brickwork. When the consistence is such as not to admit the insinuation of the fibres, the root extends itself along the outside, and to an extraordinary length, bearing not unfrequently, to the stem, the proportion of eight to one, when young. I have measured the former sixty inches, when the latter, to the extremity of the leaf, which took up a third part, was no more than eight inches. I have also seen it wave its boughs at the height of two hundred feet, of which the roots, if we may term them such, occupied at least one hundred; forming, by their close combination, the appearance of a venerable gothic pillar. It stood near the plains of *Crocup*, but like other monuments of antiquity, it had its period of existence, and is now no more.

*Gold, Tin, and other Metals—Bees-wax—Ivory—Birds-nest—
Import-Trade.*

BESIDE those articles of trade afforded by the vegetable Kingdom, Gold
Sumatra produces many others, and among the chief of these is Gold.
This valuable metal is found mostly in the central parts of the island;
none, except very rarely, being observed to the southward of *Leemron*,
a branch of *Jambee* river, or to the northward of *Nalaboo*, from whence
Arbeen is principally supplied. *Meningsaboo* has always been esteemed
the richest seat of it; which probably induced the Dutch to establish their
head factory at *Padang*, in its neighbourhood. The *Malays* are settled
in, or about, all the districts where gold is collected, and as far as my
knowledge and inquiries have extended, they appear to be (particularly
at *Leemoon*, *Batang affy*, and *Pacallang Jamboo*, where colonies of them
are established) the only persons who dig for and collect it: the ori-
ginal inhabitants, whom they distinguish by the name of *orang dacoen*,
or villagers, confining their attention to the raising of provisions, with
which they supply the Malays who search for the metal.

The earth taken up from the beds of the rivers, supplies them with
the greater proportion of what they procure, being for that purpose well Manner of
procuring it.
washed and sifted, till the pure grains are separated and cleansed from
the particles of mud and stone. They occasionally loosen the earth of
the adjacent banks, and often divert the course of rivulets, which high
up the country are little torrents, through ground newly opened for that
purpose. In some parts they dig into the earth in pursuit of the gold,
which however can scarcely deserve the appellation of mining, as they
do not venture at any considerable excavation. Some of their pits are
described as being of great depth, but this is probably exaggeration, for
their ignorance of the use of windlasses and other machines, must neces-
sarily keep them near the surface. The gold being found in a complete
metallic

metallic state, does not undergo any process of refining, purifying, or separating, except from the white rock or marble it sometimes adheres to. They simply beat and wash it, and sell it in the lumps or dust in which they find it. Some of the former have been known to weigh as heavy as six or seven ounces, without mixture; but they are often joined with an equal bulk of marble, and these pieces being admired by the Europeans, sell for the same price, by weight, as if they were all pure gold. In most of the specimens of this sort which I have seen, the gold might more properly be said to enclose the rock, than the latter to contain the gold.

It does not pass through any third hand, before it reaches the Europeans. Of those who dig for it, the most intelligent (distinguished by the name of *soudaggar*, or trader) are trusted by the rest with what they collect, who carry it to *Jambee*, *Palembang* or the West coast, and barter it for opium and the fine goods of Bengal and Madras, with which they return, loaded, to their country. From Palembang and Jambee, they have the convenience of water carriage for a considerable part of the way, but it is tedious, being against the stream. From other places they carry their returns on their backs, to the weight, commonly of eighty pounds, through woods, over rivers, and across mountains. They generally travel in parties of one hundred or more, and have frequent occasion to defend their property against the spirit of plunder and extortion, which prevails among the poorer nations; through whose districts they are obliged to pass.

Price.

When brought to our settlements, it is purchased at the high rate of three pounds, five shillings sterling the ounce; so that on exportation to Europe, it scarcely affords a profit even to the original buyer; and others who employ it as a remittance incur a loss, after the India Company's duties, and other incidental charges are deducted*. It has often been thought surprizing, that the Europeans settled on the island have

* Beaulieu, in 1622, says that gold was purchased at Acheen for the price it bore in France; but in some parts of the island thirty five per cent. cheaper.

not

not found it worth their pains, to work, in a proper manner, the mines with which the country does certainly abound; but calculation and experience appear to have taught them, that it is not a scheme likely to be attended with success, owing, among other causes, to the dearth of labor, and the necessity of keeping up a force in distant parts of the country, for the protection of the miners. Europeans cannot possibly work in this climate, and the natives are unfit for the laborious exertion it would require, to render the undertaking profitable. The Dutch have at different periods made attempts of this nature. They sent out, many years since, a Saxon mineralogist to work a mine at *Silleda*, but no profit accrued from it; and in latter times they commenced upon a vein that ran close to their settlement of *Padang*, but not finding returns adequate to the expence, their Company ordered it to be let to farm, when in a few years, it fell into such low repute, as to be at length disposed of at a rent of two Spanish dollars, by public auction*. The whole quantity of gold procured at the ports on the West coast of Sumatra, may be estimated at about ten thousand ounces annually, of which *Padang* alone has been used to draw to it (before its late capture by the English) at least one third part†. What quantity finds its way to Palembang and other places on the eastern side of the island, it is not in my power to compute, but I think it cannot be less than the former.

Value of
Mines.

* The English Company having intelligence of a mine discovered near Fort Marlborough ordered it to be worked; but it never came to any thing.

† The following is an extract of a letter from Mr. James Moore, a servant of the Company, dated from *Padang*, in 1778. "They have lately opened a vein of gold in the country inland of *Padang*; from which the Governor at one time received an hundred and fifty tial (about two hundred ounces) He has procured a map to be made of a particular part of the gold country, which points out the different places where they work for it; and also the situation of twenty one Malay forts, that are all inhabited and in repair. These districts are extremely populous, compared to the more southern part of the island. They collect, and export annually to *Batavia*, about two thousand five hundred tials of gold from this place: the quantity never exceeds three thousand tials, nor falls short of two."

I am assured that the quantity of gold procured at *Padang* used to be much greater, but that through the mal-administration of a former governor, of the name of *Palm*, the country was thrown into confusion, and the traders induced to form connexions on the eastern side of the island, whither a large proportion of the gold has since been annually diverted.

Gold

Inferior gold.

Gold of a very inferior touch, called *mas moodo*, or young gold, is found in the same countries where the other is produced, and sells for about twenty five or thirty per cent less value. From its paleness, it should seem to contain a mixture of silver, but the grains resist the force of aqua fortis, being attended with no effervescence. The people of India suppose the difference to proceed from an original, essential inferiority in the quality of the metal: but I believe that our chymists allow of no disparity of this kind, nor any but what proceeds from the greater or less quantity of alloy. In *Lampoon*, a very little gold is now and then discovered, but of this latter kind, the *mas moodo*, only.

Mode of cleansing the gold.

Before the gold dust is weighed for sale, in order to cleanse it from all impurities, and heterogeneous mixtures, whether natural or fraudulent, a skilful person, called a *Pandi*, is employed; who by the sharpness of his eye alone, is able to effect this to a surprizing degree of nicety; owing to long experience and practice. No Englishman but one, a Mr. Saul, was ever known to attain to this art. The dust is spread out on a kind of wooden platter, and the base particles (*lancbong*) are touched out, and put aside, one by one, with an instrument which the *Pandi* holds in his hand, made of linen cloth rolled up to a point. If the honesty of these gold cleaners can be depended upon, their dexterity is almost infallible; and as some security for the former, it is usual to pour the parcels when cleansed, into a vessel of aqua fortis, which is a powerful test of their accuracy. In those parts where gold is much trafficked in, it is generally employed as currency: every man carries his scales about him, and purchases are made with it, so low as to the weight of a grain

Gold weights.

or two of paddec. Various berries are also used as weights, particularly a little red species, with a black spot, which we call Indian peas. The most established weight in trade, is the *tial* or *tael*, which differs however in the northern and southern parts of the island, being at *Natal* twenty four penny weights, nine grains, and at *Padang*, *Bencoolen* and elsewhere, twenty six penny weights, twelve grains. At *Acbeen* the *Buncal*, of one ounce, ten pennyweights and twenty one grains, is the standard. The Spanish dollars are every where current, and where the gold dust is not in circulation, the following diminutions are for the most part adopted:

Coins.

the

the *soocoo*, an imaginary money, equal to the fourth part of a dollar; the *soang* or fanam, larger than those of Madras, but coined there, being the twenty fourth part of a dollar; of these there are likewise double and treble pieces; and lastly the *kepping* or copper cash, of which one hundred constitute a Spanish dollar, which is always valued in the English settlements at five shillings sterling. I do not know that gold, or any other metal, is coined by any native power on the island; though it is said to have been formerly done at *Acheen* and *Pedir*.

Tin (*timar*); copper (*tombago*); iron (*bessee*); have been already spoken of in the beginning of this work. The tin is a very considerable article of trade, and many cargoes of it are yearly carried to China; for the most part in *tompangs* or small pieces, and sometimes in slabs. The mines, which are said to be mostly on *Banca*, and to have been accidentally discovered there in 1710 by the burning of a house, are worked by a colony of Chinese, under the direction of the Dutch at *Palembang*, who endeavor to monopolize the trade; but the enterprising spirit of private merchants finds means to elude the vigilance of their cruizers, and the commerce is largely participated by them. The copper, which seems of good quality, is chiefly collected in the neighbourhood of *Nalaboo*. The Malays are fond of mixing this metal with gold, in equal quantities, making what they term *sooaffo*, which is much used for buttons, beetle-boxes, and heads of creeses. Sulphur, (*blay-rang*); arsenic, (*barangan*); and saltpetre (*messico maonta*) are also the produce of Sumatra. In the country of *Cattown*, near the head of *Oori* river, there are caves, from the soil found in which, the saltpetre is procured. Some few of our Company's servants have penetrated a considerable way into them. Mr. Whalfeldt advanced into one, seven hundred and forty three feet, when his lights were extinguished by the damp vapor. In a second he advanced six hundred feet, through a narrow passage, about three feet wide, and five in height, when an opening in a rock led to a spacious place, forty feet high.* These caves are the habi-

Tin.

Copper.

Sulphur.
Saltpetre.

* Mr. Christopher Terry and Mr. Charles Miller visited the same cave.

tation of innumerable birds, of the swallow kind, which he perceived to abound the more, the farther he proceeded. Their nests are formed about the upper parts of the cave, and it is their dung simply that forms the soil (in many places from four to six feet deep, and from fifteen to twenty broad) which affords the nitre. A cubic foot of this earth, measuring seven bamboos or gallons, produced on boiling seven pounds, fourteen ounces of saltpetre; and a second experiment gave a ninth part more. This I afterwards saw refined to a high degree of purity; but I conceive that its value would not repay the expence of the process.

Bees wax.

Bees wax is a commodity of great importance in all the eastern islands, and is from them exported to China, Bengal, and other parts of the continent. No pains are taken with the bees, which are left to settle where they list, and are never collected in hives. In quality the honey is much inferior to what we have in England.

Ivory.

The forests abounding with elephants (*gaja*), ivory is of course in plenty, and is carried both to China and Europe. Excepting a few of these, kept for state by the King of Acheen, they are not tamed in any part of the island. As they are gregarious, and usually traverse the country in large troops together, they prove highly destructive to the plantations of the natives, obliterating the traces of cultivation, by merely walking through the grounds; but they are also fond of the produce of their gardens, particularly of plantain trees and the sugar cane, which they devour with eagerness. This indulgence of appetite often proves fatal to them, for the owners knowing their attachment to these vegetables, have a practice of poisoning some part of the plantation, by splitting the canes and putting *barrangan* into the cleft; which the animal unwarily eats of and dies. Not being by nature carnivorous, the elephants are not fierce, and seldom attack a man, but when fired at, or otherwise provoked. The rhinoceros (*budda*) is also a native of these woods, and his horn is esteemed an antidote against poison. I cannot vouch for the stories told of their mutual antipathy, and the desperate encounters between these two enormous beasts.

Elephant.

The birds-nest, so much celebrated as a peculiar delicacy of the table, Birds-Nest. especially among the Chinese, is found in different parts, but in the greatest abundance about *Croce*, near the south end of the island. Four miles up the river of that name, is a large cave, where the birds, called *layang layang*, and which resemble the common martin, build in vast numbers. The nests are distinguished into white and black, of which the first are by far the more scarce and valuable, being found in the proportion of one only to twenty five.*

The white sort sells in China at the rate of a thousand to fifteen hundred Spanish dollars the pecul; the black is usually disposed of at Batavia for about twenty dollars the same weight, where I understand it is chiefly converted into glue, of which it makes a very superior kind. The difference between the two, has by some been supposed to be owing to the mixture of the feathers of the birds, with the viscous substance of which the nests are formed; and this they deduce from the experiment, of steeping the black nests for a short time in hot water, when they are said to become, in a great degree, white. Among the natives I have heard a few assert, that they are the work of a different species of bird. It was suggested to me, that the white might probably be the recent nests of the season in which they were taken, and the black, such as had been used for a number of years successively. This opinion appearing plausible, I was particular in my enquiries as to that point, and learned what seemed much to corroborate it. When the natives prepare to take the nests, they enter the caves with torches, and forming ladders according to the usual mode, of a single bamboo notched, they ascend and pull down the nests, which adhere in numbers together, from the side and top of the rock. They informed me, that the more frequently and regularly the cave is stripped, the greater proportion of white nests they are sure to find, and that on this experience they often make a practice of beating down and destroying the old nests, in larger quantities than they

* I had an opportunity of giving to the British Museum, some of these white nests, with eggs in them. Those found in the Saltpetre cave before mentioned, are probably of the same species of bird.

trouble themselves to carry away, in order that they may find white nests the next season in their room. The birds, during the building time, are seen in large flocks on the beach, collecting in their bills the foam which is thrown up by the surf, of which there is little doubt but they construct their nests, after it has undergone, perhaps, a preparation, from a commixture with their saliva, or other secretion, with which nature has provided them for that purpose.* The *sooallo*, or sea slug, is also an article of trade, to China and Batavia; being employed as the birds-nest and vermicelli, for enriching soups, among a luxurious people.

Import-Trade

The general articles of import-trade, are the following. From the coast of Coromandel, salt; long cloth, blue and white; chintz, and a variety of other cotton goods: from Bengal, opium and taffetas: from China, coarse porcelain; some tobacco; *qualies* or iron pans, and a number of small, miscellaneous commodities: from the eastern islands, Buguefs clouting, a coarse, striped, cotton manufacture, much worn; guns called *rantakkers*; *creeses* and other weapons; filken creese-belts; *toodongs* or hats; salt of a large grain; and sometimes rice, especially from the island of *Bally*: from Europe, silver; iron; lead; cutlery and other hardware; brass wire; and scarlet cloth. It is not within my plan to enlarge upon this subject, or to enter into a detail of the markets and prices of the various articles, which, as in all countries where commerce is in its infancy or decline, are extremely fluctuating. The different species of goods above enumerated, come, for the most part, under consideration in other places of the work, as they happen to be connected with the account of the natives who purchase them.

* Linnæus has conjectured, and with much plausibility, that it is the animal substance frequently found on the beach which fishermen call blubbers or jellies, and not the foam of the sea, that these birds collect.

*Arts and Manufactures.—Art of Medicine.—Sciences.—Arithmetic:
Geography: Astronomy: Music, &c.*

I SHALL now take a view of those arts and manufactures which the Sumatrans are skilled in, and which are not merely domestic, but contribute rather to the conveniences, and in some instances to the luxuries, than to the necessities of life. I must remind the reader that my observations on this subject are mostly drawn from the *Rajangs*, or those people of the island, who are upon their level of improvement. We meet with accounts in old writers, of great founderies of cannon in the dominion of *Acheen*, and it is certain, that fire-arms, as well as creeses, are at this day manufactured in the country of *Menangkabow*; but my present description does not go to these superior exertions of art, which certainly do not appear among those people of the island whose manners, more especially, I am attempting to delineate. What follows should seem an exception from this limitation. There is no manufacture in that part of the world, and perhaps I might be justified in saying, in any part of the world, that has been more admired and celebrated, than the fine gold and silver filagree of Sumatra. This however is, strictly speaking, the work of the Malay, and not of the original inhabitants; but as it is in universal use and wear throughout the country, and as the goldsmiths are settled every where along the coast, I cannot be guilty of much irregularity in describing here the process of their art.

Arts and Ma-
factures.

Filagree.

There is no circumstance that renders the filagree a matter of greater curiosity, than the coarseness of the tools employed in the workmanship, and which, in the hands of an European, would not be thought sufficiently perfect for the most ordinary purposes. They are rudely and artificially formed, by the goldsmith (*pandi*), from any old iron he can pick up. When you engage one of them to execute a piece of work, his first request is usually for a piece of iron hoop, to make his wire-drawing instrument; an old hammer head, stuck in a block, serves for

an

an anvil; and I have seen a pair of compasses, composed of two old nails tied together at one end. The gold is melted in a piece of a *precco* or earthen rice pot, or sometimes in a crucible of their own make, of ordinary clay. In general they use no bellows, but blow the fire with their mouths, through a joint of bamboo, and if the quantity of metal to be melted is considerable, three or four persons sit round their furnace, which is an old broken *quail* or iron pot, and blow together. At *Padang* alone, where the manufacture is more considerable, they have adopted the Chinese bellows. Their method of drawing the wire, differs but little from that used by European workmen. When drawn to a sufficient fineness, they flatten it, by beating it on their anvil; and when flattened they give it a twist, like that in the whalebone handle of a punch-ladle, by rubbing it on a block of wood, with a flat stick. After twisting they again beat it on the anvil, and by these means it becomes flat wire with indented edges. With a pair of nippers they fold down the end of the wire, and thus form a leaf, or element of a flower in their work, which is cut off. The end is again folded and cut off, till they have got a sufficient number of leaves, which are all laid on singly. Patterns of the flowers or foliage, in which there is not very much variety, are prepared on paper, of the size of the gold plate on which the filagree is to be laid. According to this, they begin to dispose on the plate the larger compartments of the foliage, for which they use plain flat wire of a larger size, and fill them up with the leaves before mentioned. To fix their work they employ a glutinous substance, made of the red berry called *booa sago*, ground to a pulp, on a rough stone. This pulp they place on a young coconut, about the size of a walnut, the top and bottom being cut off. I at first imagined that caprice alone might have directed them to the use of the coconut for this purpose; but I have since reflected on the probability of the juice of the young fruit being necessary to keep the pulp moist, which would otherwise speedily become dry and unfit for the work. After that the leaves have been all placed in order, and stuck on, bit by bit, a solder is prepared of gold filings and borax, moistened with water, which they strew over the plate, and then putting it in the fire for a short time, the

the whole becomes united. This kind of work on a gold plate, they call *carrang papan*: when the work is open, they call it *carrang troufe*. In executing the latticé, the foliage is laid out on a card, or soft kind of wood, and stuck on, as before described, with the sago berry; and the work, when finished, being strewed over with their solder, is put into the fire, when the card or soft wood burning away, the gold remains connected. If the piece be large, they solder it at several times. In the manufacture of *badjoo* buttons, they first make the lower part flat, and having a mould formed of a piece of buffalo's horn, indented to several sizes, each like one half of a bullet mould, they lay their work over one of these holes, and with a horn punch, they press it into the form of the button. After this they complete the upper part. When the filagree is finished, they cleanse it, by boiling it in water, with common salt and alum, or sometimes lime juice; and in order to give it that fine purple color which they call *sapo*, they boil it in water with brimstone. The manner of making the little balls, with which their works are sometimes ornamented, is as follows. They take a piece of charcoal, and having cut it flat and smooth, they make in it a small hole, which they fill with gold dust, and this melted in the fire, becomes a little ball. They are very inexpert at finishing and polishing the plain parts, hinges, screws, and the like, being in this as much excelled by the European artists, as these fall short of them, in the fineness and minuteness of the foliage. The Chinese also make filagree, mostly of silver, which looks elegant, but wants likewise the extraordinary delicacy of the Malay work. The price of the workmanship depends upon the difficulty or uncommonness of the pattern. In some articles of usual demand, it does not exceed one third of the value of the gold; but in matters of fancy, it is generally equal to it. The manufacture is not now held in very high estimation in England, where costliness is not so much the object of luxury, as variety; but in the revolution of taste, it may probably be again sought after and admired as fashionable.

But little skill is shewn amongst the country people in forging iron. They make nails however, though not much used by them in building, wooden pins being generally substituted; also various kinds of tools, as the

Iron Manu-
factures.

the *prang* or bill, the *banchee*, *rembay*, *billiong*, and *papateel*, which are different species of adzes, the *capa* or ax, and the *pancoor* or hoe. Their fire is made with charcoal; the fossil coal which the country produces being rarely, if ever, employed, except by the Europeans.* Their bellows are thus constructed. Two bamboos of about four inches diameter and five feet in length, stand perpendicularly near the fire; open at the upper end, and stopp'd below. About an inch or two from the bottom, a small joint of bamboo is inserted into each, which serve as nozles, pointing to, and meeting at the fire. To produce a stream of air, bunches of feathers or other soft substance, being fastened to long handles, are worked up and down in the upright tubes, like the piston of a pump. These when pushed downwards, force the air through the small horizontal tubes; and by raising and sinking each alternately, a continual current or blast is kept up; for which purpose a boy is usually placed on a high seat or stand.

Carpenter's
work.

Tools.

The progress they have made in carpenter's work has been already pointed out, where their buildings were described. They are ignorant of the use of the saw, excepting where we have introduced it among them. Trees are felled by chopping at the stems, and in procuring boards, they are confined to those, the direction of whose grain, or other qualities, admit of their being easily split asunder. In this respect the *maranti* and *maracooly* have the preference. The tree, being stripped of its branches and its bark, is cut into the length required, and by the help of wedges split into boards. These being of irregular thickness, are usually dubbed upon the spot. The tool used for this purpose is the *rembay*, the corners of which turn up towards the workmen, to prevent their catching in the board; but this seems an unnecessary precaution. Most of their smaller work, and particularly on the bamboo, is performing with the *papateel*, which resembles in shape, as much as in name, the *patoopatoe* of the New Zealanders, but has the vast superiority of

* And not by them of late years: yet the report made of it in 1719 was, that it gave a surer heat than the coal from England: the bed of it (though described rather as a large rock above ground) lies four days' journey up Benesolen river, from whence quantities are washed down by the floods.

being

being made of iron. The blade, which is fastened to the handle with a curious kind of basket work of split rattans, is so contrived as to turn in it, and by that means can be employed either as an adze or small hatchet. Their houses are generally built with the assistance of this simple instrument alone. The *billiong* is no other than a large *papateel*, with a handle of two or three feet in length, turning like that, in its socket.

The chief cement they use is made of the curd of the buffalo milk, Cements. called *prackee*. It is to be observed that butter is made (for the use of Europeans only *) not as with us, by churning, but by letting the milk stand till the butter forms of itself on the top. It is then taken off with a spoon, stirred about with the same in a flat vessel, and well washed in two or three waters. The thick sour milk left at the bottom, when the butter or cream is removed, is what I term the curd. This must be well squeezed, formed into cakes, and left to dry, when it will grow nearly as hard as flint. For use, you must scrape some of it off, mix it with quick lime, and moisten it with milk. I think that there is no stronger cement in the world, and it is found to hold, particularly in a hot and damp climate, much better than glue; proving also effectual in mending china ware. The viscous juice of a particular berry, is likewise used in the country as a cement.

Painting and drawing they are quite strangers to. In carving, both Designing. in wood and ivory, they are curious and fanciful, but their designs are always grotesque and out of nature. The handles of the creeses are the most common subjects of their ingenuity in this art, which usually exhibit the head and beak of a bird, with the folded arms of a human creature, not unlike the representation of one of the Egyptian deities. In cane and basket work they are particularly neat and expert; as well as in mats, of which some kinds are much prized.

* The words used by the Malays, for butter and cheese, are *Monteiga* and *Queijo*, which are pure Portuguese.

Looms.

Silk and cotton cloths, of varied colors, manufactured by themselves, are worn by the natives in all parts of the country; especially by the women. Some of their work is very fine, and the patterns prettily fancied. Their loom or apparatus for weaving (*tunnome*) is extremely defective, and renders their progress tedious. One end of the warp being made fast to a frame, the whole is kept tight, and the web stretched out by means of a species of yoke, which fastens behind the body, as the person weaving sits down. Every second of the longitudinal threads, passes separately through a set of reeds, like the teeth of a comb, and the alternate ones through another set. These are forced home at each return of the shuttle, rendering the warp close and even. The alternate threads of the warp cross each other, up and down, to admit the shuttle, not from the extremities, as in our looms, nor effected by the feet, but by turning edge ways two flat sticks which pass through. The shuttle (*toorab*) is a hollow reed, about fifteen inches long, generally ornamented on the outside, and closed at one end, having in it a small bit of stick, on which is rolled the woof or shoot. The silk clouts have usually a gold head. They use sometimes another kind of loom, still more simple than this, being no more than a frame in which the warp is fixed, and the woof darned with a long, small pointed shuttle. They make use of a machine for spinning the cotton very like ours. The women are expert at embroidery, the gold and silver thread for which, is procured from China, as well as their needles. For common work, their thread is the *paalay* before mentioned, or filaments of the *pesang* (*musi*).

Earthenware.

Different kinds of earthenware, I have elsewhere observed, are manufactured on the island.

Perfumes.

They have a practice of perfuming their hair with oil of benjamin, which they distil themselves from the gum, by a process doubtless of their own invention. In procuring it, a *precoo*, or earthen rice pot, covered close, is used for a retort. A small bamboo is inserted in the side of the vessel, and well luted with clay and ashes, from which the oil drops.

drops as it comes over. Along with the benjamin they put into the retort, a mixture of sugar cane and other articles, that contribute little or nothing to the quantity or quality of the distillation; but no liquid is added. This empyreumatic oil is valued among them at a high price, and can only be used by the superior rank of people.

The oil in general use is that of the coconut, which is procured in the following manner. The fleshy part being scraped out of the nut, which for this use must be old, is exposed for some time to the heat of the sun. It is then put into a mat bag, and placed in the press (*campauban*) between two sloping timbers, which are fixed together in a socket in the lower part of the frame, and forced towards each other by wedges in a groove at top, compressing by this means, the pulp of the nut, which yields an oil, that falls into a trough made for its reception below. In the farther parts of the country, this oil also, owing to the scarcity of coconuts, is dear, and not so much used for burning as the *dammar* or rosin, which is always at hand. When travelling at night they make use of torches or links, called *fooloo*, the common sort of which are nothing more than dried bamboos of a convenient length, beaten at the joints, till split in every part; without the addition of any resinous or other inflammable substance. A superior kind is made by filling with dammar a young bamboo, about a cubit long, well dried, and having the outer skin taken off.

These torches are carried with a view, chiefly, to frighten away the tigers, which are alarmed at the appearance of fire; and for the same reason it is common to make a blaze with wood, in different parts round their villages. The tigers prove to the inhabitants, both in their journeys and even their domestic occupations, most fatal and destructive enemies. The number of people annually slain by these rapacious tyrants of the woods, is almost incredible. I have known instances of whole villages being depopulated by them. Yet, from a superstitious prejudice, it is with difficulty they are prevailed upon, by a large reward which the India Company offers, to use methods of destroying them; till they have sustained some particular injury in their own family or kin-

carried to
freight away;
the tigers.

ravages of
these animals.

dred. Their traps, of which they can make variety, are very ingeniously contrived. Sometimes they are in the nature of strong cages, with falling doors, into which the beast is enticed by a goat or dog enclosed as a bait: sometimes they manage that a large timber shall fall, in a groove, across his back: sometimes he is noosed about the loins with strong rattans; sometimes is led to ascend a plank, nearly balanced, which turning when he is past the center, lets him fall upon sharp stakes prepared below. Instances have occurred of a tiger being caught by one of the former modes, which had many marks in his body of the partial success of this last expedient. The escapes, at times, made from them by the natives are truly surprising, but these accounts in general carry too romantic an air to admit of being repeated as facts. The size and strength of the species which prevails on this island is prodigious. They are said to break with a stroke of their fore paw, the leg of a horse or a buffalo; and the largest prey they kill is without difficulty dragged by them into the woods. This they usually perform on the second night, being supposed, on the first, to gratify themselves with sucking the blood only. Time is by this delay afforded to prepare for their destruction; and to the methods already enumerated, beside shooting them, I should add that of placing a vessel of water, strongly impregnated with arsenic, near the carcase, which is fastened to a tree to prevent its being carried off. The tiger having satiated himself with the flesh, is prompted to assuage his thirst, with the tempting liquor at hand, and perishes in the indulgence. Their chief subsistence is most probably, the unfortunate monkeys with which the woods abound. They are described as alluring them to their fate, by a fascinating power, similar to what has been supposed of the snake, and I am not incredulous enough to treat the idea with contempt, having myself observed that when an aligator or crocodile, in a river, comes under an overhanging bough of a tree, the monkeys, in a state of alarm and distraction, crowd to the extremity, and chattering and trembling, approach nearer and nearer to the amphibious monster that waits to devour them as they drop, which their fright and number renders almost unavoidable. These aligators likewise occasion the loss of many inhabitants, frequently destroying the people as they bathe in the river,

And of aligat-
tors.

river, according to their regular custom, and which the perpetual evidence of the risk attending it, cannot deter them from. A superstitious idea of their sanctity also, preserves them from molestation, although, with a hook of sufficient strength, they may be taken without much difficulty. A musket ball appears to have no effect upon their impenetrable hides.

Besides the common methods of taking fish, of which the seas that wash the coasts of Sumatra afford an extraordinary variety and abundance, the natives employ a mode, unpractised, I apprehend, in any part of Europe. They steep the root of a certain creeping plant, called *tooboo*, of strong narcotic qualities, in the water where the fish are observed, which produces such an effect, that they become intoxicated and to appearance dead, float on the surface of the water, and are taken with the hand. This is generally made use of in the basins of water, formed by the ledges of coral rock which, having no outlet, are left full when the tide has ebbed.* Birds, particularly the plover (*cherooking*) and quails (*pooyoo*), are caught by snares or springes laid for them in the grass. These are of *ejoo*, which resembles horsehair, many fathoms in length, and disposed in such a manner that their feet get entangled; for which purpose they are gently driven towards the snares. In some parts of the country they make use of clasp nets. I never observed a Sumatran to fire a shot at a bird, though many of them, as well as the more eastern people, have a remarkably fine aim; but the mode of letting off the matchlocks, which are the pieces most habitual to them, precludes the possibility of shooting flying. Gunpowder is manufactured in various parts of the island, but less in the country I am more particularly speak-

Fishing.

Bird catching.

Gunpowder.

* In Captain Cook's second voyage is a plate representing a plant used for the same purpose at Otaheite, which is the exact delineation of one whose appearance I am well acquainted with on Sumatra, and which abounds in many parts of the sea beach; but though its qualities be similar to those of the *tooboo*, the latter is a different plant, being a vine or creeper. In South America also, we are informed, the inhabitants procure fish after this extraordinary manner, employing three different kinds of plants; but whether any of them be the same with that of Otaheite or Sumatra, I am ignorant. I have lately been informed that this practice is not unknown in England, but has been prohibited. It is termed "foxing": the drug made use of was the *coculus indicus*.

ing

ing of, and to the southward in general, than amongst the people of *Mé-rangcabow*, the *Battas*, and *Achenese*, whose frequent wars demand large supplies. It is made, as with us, of proportions of charcoal, sulphur, and nitre, but the composition is very imperfectly granulated, being often hastily prepared, in small quantities, for immediate use. The last article, though found in the greatest quantity in the saltpetre caves before spoken of, is most commonly procured from goat's dung, which is always to be had in plenty.

Sugar.

The *Jaggree* or country sugar is usually made from the juice of the *anou*, a species of palm tree, extracted in the manner already described. In some places, but rarely, they press the sugar cane for this purpose, in a mill, the rollers of which are worked by the endless screw, instead of cogs; one of the two, which is longer than the other, having a bar through it that is turned by the hand. The juice is simply boiled till a consistence is formed, but scarcely at all granulated, being little more than a thick syrup. This is made into cakes, spread upon leaves to dry, and afterwards folded up in *oopee* or the inner bark of the *penang* tree. This jaggree, beside its ordinary uses as sugar, being mixed with lime, makes a fine cement for building, and an exquisite plaster for walls, which in some parts of India equals marble in appearance. The liquor of the *anou*, called *neeroo* or toddy, is drunk whilst fresh, and proves an agreeable beverage. It is also made use of in a fermented state, to effect which a composition is employed called *raggee*; and a quantity of rice being at the same time steeped in it, the liquor then becomes intoxicating, and is called *brum*. This is in fact the basis of the spirit called *arrack*, but the Sumatrans have not the art of distilling it.* The Malays, when re-

* Many attempts have been made by the English to bring to perfection the manufacture of sugar and arrack from the canes: but the expences, particularly of the slaves, were always found to exceed the advantages. Within these few years, that the plantations and works were committed to the management of Mr. Henry Botham, it has manifestly appeared that the end is to be obtained, by employing the *Chinese* in the works of the field, and allowing them a proportion of the produce, for their labor. The manufacture had arrived at a considerable extent, when the breaking out of the war gave a check to its progress; but the path is pointed out, and it is worth pursuing with vigor. The sums of money thrown into Batavia for arrack and sugar have been immense.

strained

strained from the use of opium, are apt to have recourse to this liquor, but among the country people inebriation is perfectly rare.

Salt is here, as in most other countries, an article of general consumption. The demand for it is mostly supplied by cargoes imported, but they also manufacture it themselves.* The method is tedious. They kindle a fire close to the sea beach, and pour upon it sea water, by degrees. When this has been continued for a certain time, the water evaporating, and the salt being precipitated among the ashes, they gather these in baskets, or in funnels made of the bark or leaves of trees, and again pour sea water on them, till the particles of salt are well separated, and pass, with the water, into a vessel placed below to receive them. This water, now strongly impregnated, is boiled till the salt adheres in a thick crust to the bottom and sides of the vessel. In burning a square fathom of firewood, a skilful person procures about five gallons of salt. What is thus made, has so considerable a mixture of the salt of the wood, that it soon dissolves, and cannot be carried far into the country. The coarsest grain is preferred.

The art of medicine, among the Sumatrans, consists almost entirely in the application of simples, in the virtues of which they are surprisingly skilled. Every old man and woman is a physician; their rewards depending upon their success; but they generally procure a small sum in advance, under the pretext of purchasing charms †. The mode of practice.

Art of medicine.

* In one of the earliest letters from Bencoolen, to the Presidency of Madras, it is mentioned that Salt could not be disposed of as an article of trade.

† Charms are there worn about the necks of children, as in Europe. I know not what they are composed of; nor is it of much consequence, being merely impositions of the Malay priests. A charm against an ague I once accidentally met with, which from circumstances I conclude to be a translation of such as are employed by the Portuguese Christians in India. Though not properly belonging to my subject, I will present it to the reader. “(Sign of the cross) When Christ saw the cross, he trembled and shaked; and they said unto him, hast thou an ague? and he said unto them, I have neither ague nor fever; and whosoever bears these words, either in writing or in mind, shall never be troubled with ague or fever. So help thy servants, O Lord, who

tice is either by administering the juices of certain trees and herbs inwardly, or by applying outwardly a poultice of leaves chopped small, upon the breast or part affected, renewing it as soon as it becomes dry. For internal pains, they rub oil on a large leaf of a stimulant quality, and heating it before the fire, clap it on the body of the patient, as a blister, which produces very powerful effects. Phlebotomy they never use, yet the people of the neighbouring island of *Neas* are famous for their skill in cupping, which they practice in a manner peculiar to themselves.

Fevers.

In fevers they give a decoction of the herb *lakoon*, and bathe the patient, for two or three mornings, in warm water. If this does not prove effectual, they pour over him, during the paroxysm, a quantity of cold water, rendered more chilly by the *daoun sadingin*, which, from the sudden revulsion it causes, brings on a copious perspiration. Pains and swellings in the limbs are likewise cured by sweating; but for this purpose, they either cover themselves over with mats, and sit in the sunshine at noon, or if the operation be performed within doors, a lamp, and sometimes a pot of boiling herbs, is enclosed in the covering with them.

Leprosy.

There are two species of leprosy known in these parts. The milder sort, or *impetigo*, as I apprehend it to be, is very common among the inhabitants of *Neas*; great numbers of whom are covered with a white, scurf or scales, that renders them loathsome to the sight. But this distemper, though disagreeable from the violent itching and other inconveniences with which it is attended, does not appear immediately to affect the health; slaves in that situation being daily bought and sold for field and other out-door work. It is communicated from parents to their

who put their trust in thee!" From the many folds that appear in the original, I have reason to apprehend that it had been worn, and by some Englishmen, whom frequent sickness and the fond love of life, had rendered weak and superstitious enough to try the effects of this barbarous and ridiculous quackery.

offspring,

offspring, but though hereditary, it is not contagious. I have sometimes been induced to think it nothing more than a confirmed stage of the *serpigo* or ringworm, or it may be the same with what is elsewhere termed the *spingles*. I have known a Neas man who has effected a temporary removal of this scurf, by the frequent application of such herbs as are used to cure the ringworm, and sometimes by rubbing gunpowder and strong acids to his skin; but it always returned after some time. The other species with which the country people are in some instances affected, is doubtless from the description given of its dreadful symptoms, that severe kind of leprosy which has been termed *elephantiasis*; the skin coming off in flakes, and the flesh falling from the bones, as in the lues venerea. This disorder being esteemed highly infectious, the unhappy wretch who labors under it, is driven from the village he belonged to, into the woods, where victuals are left for him, from time to time, by his relations. A prang and a knife are likewise delivered to him, that he may build himself a hut, which is generally erected near to some river, continual bathing being supposed to have some effect in removing the disorder, or alleviating the misery of the patient. Few instances of recovery have been known. There is a disease called the *nambee* which bears some affinity to this, attacking the feet chiefly, the flesh of which it eats away. As none but the lowest class of people seem to suffer from this complaint, I imagine it proceeds in a great degree from want of cleanliness.

The small pox sometimes visits the island and makes terrible ravages. Small pox. It is regarded as a plague, and drives from the country thousands whom the infection spares. Their method of stopping its progress (for they do not attempt a cure) is by converting into an hospital or receptacle for the rest, that village where lie the greatest number of sick, whither they send all who are attacked by the disorder, from the country round. The most effectual methods are pursued to prevent any person's escape from this village, which is burnt to the ground as soon as the infection has spent itself, or devoured all the victims thus offered to it. Inoculation seems to be an idea not thought of, and as it could not be universal, it might be a dangerous experiment for Europeans to introduce it partially,

tially, in a country where the disorder make its appearance at distant intervals only ; unless those periods could be seized, and the attempts made, when and where there might be well founded apprehension of its being communicated in the natural way. A distemper much resembling the small pox, and in its first stages mistaken for it, is not uncommon. It causes an alarm, but does not prove mortal, and is probably what we term the chicken pox.

Venercal disease.

The venercal disease, though common in the Malay bazars, is in the inland country almost unknown. A man returning to his village, with the infection, is shunned by the inhabitants as an unclean and interdicted person. The Malays cure it with the decoction of a china root, called by them *gadeong*, which causes a salivation.

Insanity.

When a man is by sickness, or otherwise, deprived of his reason, or when subject to convulsion fits, they imagine him possessed by an evil spirit, and their ceremony of exorcism is performed by putting the unfortunate wretch into a hut, which they set fire to about his ears, suffering him to make his escape through the flames in the best manner he can. The fright, which would go nigh to destroy the intellects of a reasonable man, may perhaps have, under contrary circumstances, an opposite effect.

**Sciences.
Arithmetic.**

The skill of the Sumatrans in any of the sciences, is, as may be presumed, very limited. Some, however, I have met with, who, in arithmetic, could multiply and divide, by a single multiplier or divisor, several places of figures. Tens of thousands (*laxa*) are the highest class of numbers the Malay language has a name for. In counting over a quantity of small articles, each tenth, and afterwards each hundredth piece, is put aside ; which method is just consonant with the progress of scientific numeration, and probably was the origin of it. When they may have occasion to recollect at a distance of time, the tale of any commodities they are carrying to market, or the like, the country people often assist their memory, by tying knots on a string, which is produced when they want to specify the number. The Peruvian *quipos* were, I suppose, an improvement upon this simple invention.

They

They estimate the quantity of most species of merchandize by what Measures. we call dry measure, the use of weights being apparently introduced among them by foreigners; for the *pecul* and *catties* are used only on the sea coast, and places which the Malays frequent.* The *coolab* or bamboo, containing very nearly a gallon, is the general standard of measure among the Rejangs: of these eight hundred make a *coyan*: the *cbocopa* is one quarter of a bamboo. By the bamboo almost all articles, even elephants teeth, are bought and sold; but by a bamboo of ivory they mean so much as is equal in weight to a bamboo of rice. This still includes the idea of weight, but is not attended with their principal objection to that mode of ascertaining quantity, which arises, as they say, from the impossibility of judging by the eye of the justness of artificial weights, owing to the various materials of which they may be composed, and which measurement is not liable to. The measures of length here, as perhaps originally among every people upon earth, are taken from the dimensions of the human body. The *deppo*, or fathom, is the extent of the arms from each extremity of the fingers: the *etto*, or cubit, is the fore-arm and hand: *cakee* is the foot: *janca* is the span; and *jarree*, which signifies a finger, is the inch. These are estimated from the general proportions of middle sized men, others making an allowance in measuring, and not regulated by any exact standard.

The ideas of Geography, among such of them as do not frequent the sea, are perfectly confined, or rather they entertain none. They know Geography. not that the country they inhabit is an island, nor have they any general name for it. Habit renders them expert in travelling through the woods, where they perform journeys of weeks and months without seeing a dwelling. In places little frequented, where they have occasion to strike out new paths, (for roads there are none) they make marks on trees, for the future guidance of themselves and others. I have heard a man say,

* The *pecul* is $133\frac{1}{2}$ lb: 100 *catties* are one *pecul*, each being estimated at a pound and a third.

" I will attempt a passage by such a route, for my father, when living, told me that he had left his tokens there." They estimate the distance of places from each other, by the number of days, or the proportion of the day, taken up in travelling it, and not by measurement of the space. Their journey, or day's walk, may be computed at about twenty miles; but they can bear a long continuance of fatigue.

Astronomy.

The Malays, as well as the Arabs and other Mahometan nations, fix the length of the year at three hundred and fifty four days, or twelve lunar months of twenty nine days and an half; by which mode of reckoning, each year is thrown back above eleven days. The original Sumatrans rudely estimate their annual periods from the revolution of the seasons, and count their years from the number of their crops of grain (*taoun paddée*); a practice, which, though not pretending to accuracy, is much more useful for the general purposes of life, than the former, which is merely adapted to religious observances. They, as well as the Malays, compute time by regular lunar periods, but do not attempt to trace any relation or correspondence, between these smaller measures and the solar revolution. Whilst more polished nations were multiplying mistakes and difficulties, in their endeavors to ascertain the completion of the sun's course through the ecliptic, and in the mean while suffering their nominal seasons to become almost the reverse of nature, these people without an idea of intercalation, preserved the account of their years free from essential, or at least progressive error, and the confusion which attends it. The division of the month into weeks I believe to be unknown, except where it has been taught with Mahometanism; the day of the moon's age being used instead of it, where accuracy is required; nor do they subdivide the day into hours. To denote the time of day, at which any circumstance they find it necessary to speak of, happened, they point with their finger, to the height in the sky, at which the sun then stood. And this mode is the more general and precise, as the sun, so near the equator, ascends and descends almost perpendicularly, and rises and sets, at all seasons of the year, within a few minutes of six o'clock. Scarce any of the stars or constellations are distinguished

tinguished by them. They notice, however, the planet Venus, but do not imagine her to be the same at the different periods of her revolution; when she precedes the rising, and follows the setting sun. They are aware of the night on which the new moon should make its appearance, and the Malays salute it with the discharge of guns. They also know when to expect the returns of the tides, which are at their height, on the south western coast of the island, when that luminary is in the horizon, and ebb as it rises. When they observe a bright star near the moon, they are apprehensive of a storm; as Europeans sailors foretel a gale from the sharpness of her horns. These are both, in part, the consequence of an unusual clearness in the air, which proceeding from an extraordinary alteration of the state of the atmosphere, must naturally be followed by a violent rushing of the circumjacent parts, to restore the equilibrium, and thus prove the prognostic of high wind. During an eclipse they make a loud noise with sounding instruments, to prevent one luminary from devouring the other, as the Chinese, to frighten away the dragon. They tell of a man in the moon, who is continually employed in spinning cotton, but that every night a rat gnaws his thread, and obliges him to begin his work afresh. This they apply as an emblem of endless and ineffectual labor, like the stone of *Sisyphus*, and the sieves of the *Danaïdes*.

History and chronology they are entirely without; the memory of all past events being preserved by tradition only.

They are fond of music, and have many instruments in use among them, but few, upon inquiry, appear to be original, being mostly borrowed from the Chinese and other more eastern people; particularly the *calintang*, *gong*, and *sooleen*. The violin has found its way to them from the westward. The *calintang* resembles the sticcado and the harmonica; the more common ones having the cross pieces, which are struck with two little hammers, of split bamboo, and the more perfect, of a certain composition of metal which is very sonorous. The *gongs*, a kind of bell, but differing much in shape, and struck on the outside, are

Music.

are cast in sets regularly tuned to thirds, fourth, fifth, and octave, and often serve as a bass, or under part, to the *calintang*. The *soolcen* is the Malay flute. The country flute is called *serdum*. It is made of bamboo, is very imperfect, having but few stops, and resembles much an instrument described as found among the people of Oraheite. A single hole underneath, is covered with the thumb of the left hand, and the hole nearest the end at which it is blown, on the upper side, with a finger of the same hand. The other two holes are stopt with the right hand fingers. In blowing they hold it inclined to the right side. They have various instruments of the drum kind, particularly those called *sinkab*, which are in pairs, and beaten with the hands at each end. They are made of a certain kind of wood hollowed out, covered with dried goat skins, and laced with split rattana. It is difficult to obtain a proper knowledge of their division of the scale, as they know nothing of it in theory. The interval we call an octave, seems to be divided with them into six tones, without any intermediate semitones, which must confine their music to one key. It consists in general of but few notes, and the third is the interval that most frequently occurs. Those who perform on the violin, use the same notes as in our division, and they tune the instrument, by fifths, to a great nicety. They are fond of playing the octave, but scarce use any other chord. The Sumatran tunes very much resemble, to my ear, those of the native Irish, and have usually, like them, a flat third.

Language.—

Language—Malay—Arabic character used—Languages of the interior people—Peculiar characters—Specimens of languages and of alphabets.

BEFORE I proceed to an account of the laws, customs, and manners of the people of the island, it is necessary that I should say something of the different languages spoken on it; the diversity of which has been the subject of much contemplation and conjecture.

The *Malay* language, which is original in the peninsula of *Malayo*, and has from thence extended itself throughout the eastern islands, so as to become the *lingua franca* of that part of the globe, is spoken every where along the coasts of Sumatra, prevails in the inland country of *Menangkabow* and its immediate dependencies, and is understood in almost every part of the island. It has been much celebrated, and justly, for the smoothness and sweetness of its sound, which have gained it the appellation of the *Italian of the east*. This is owing to the prevalence of vowels and liquids in the words, and the infrequency of any harsh combination of mute consonants. These qualities render it well adapted to poetry, which the Malays are passionately addicted to. They amuse all their leisure hours, including the greater portion of their lives, with the repetition of songs, which are, for the most part, proverbs illustrated, or figures of speech applied to the occurrences of life. Some that they rehearse, in a kind of recitative, at their *bimbangs* or feasts, are historical love tales, like our old English ballads, but often extempore. An example of the former species is as follows.

Apog.

Apo goono passang paleeto,

Callo teedab dangan soomboonia ?

Apo goono bermine matto,

Callo, teedab dangan sangoonia ?

What signifies attempting to light a lamp,

If the wick be wanting ?

What signifies making love with the eyes,

If nothing in earnest be intended ?

It must be observed however, that it often proves a very difficult matter to trace the connexion between the figurative and the literal sense of the stanza. The essentials in the composition of the *pantoön*, for such these little pieces are called, the longer being called *dendang*, are the rhythmus and the figure, particularly the latter, which they consider as the life and spirit of the poetry. I had a proof of this in an attempt which I made to imitate a *pantoön* of my own composing, on the natives, as a work of their countrymen. The subject was a dialogue between a lover, and a rich, coy mistress : The expressions were proper to the occasion, and in some degree characteristic. It passed with several, but an old lady who was a more discerning critic than the others, remarked that it was "*catto cattu saja*"—mere conversation ; meaning that it was destitute of the quaint and figurative expressions which adorn their own poetry. Their language, in common speaking, is proverbial and sententious. If a young woman prove with child before marriage, they observe it is, "*doulou booa, cadetan boongo*"—"the fruit before the flower." Hearing of a person's death, they say, "*nen mattee, mattee ; nen edoop, becrajo : callo sampi-la janjeenia, apo boolee booa ?*"—"Those who are dead, are dead ; those who survive must work : if his allotted time was expired, what resource is there ?"

* The "*apo boolee booa ?*" is a phrase they always make use of, to express their sense of *inevailability*, and has more force than any translation of it I can employ.

Their

Their writing is in the Arabic character, very little corrupted, owing to which, and the adoption of their religion from the same quarter, a great number of Arabic words are incorporated with the Malay. The Portuguese too have furnished them with many terms, chiefly for such ideas as they have acquired since the period of European discoveries to the eastward. They write on paper, using ink of their own composition, with pens made of the twig of the *Andropogon*. I could never discover that the Malays had any original written characters, peculiar to themselves, before they acquired those now in use; but it is possible that such might have been lost; a fate that may hereafter attend those of Sumatra, on which the Arabic daily makes incroachments. Yet I have had frequent occasion to observe the Malay language written by inland people, in the country character; which would indicate that the speech is likely to perish first. Their books are for the most part, either transcripts from the Alcoran (*koraan*), or legendary tales (*kabar*), of little merit as compositions.

Arabic character used by Malays.

The purest, or most esteemed Malay is said, and with great appearance of reason, to be spoken at Malacca. It differs from the dialect used on Sumatra chiefly in this, that words, in the latter, made to terminate in "O," are, in the former, sounded as ending in "A". Thus they pronounce *lada* (pepper) instead of *lado*. Those words which end with a "K" in writing, are, on Sumatra, always softened in speaking, by omitting it; as "*tabbe bunnia*," "many compliments," for "*tabbek, bunniak*;" but the Malaccans, and especially the more eastern people, who speak very broad, give them generally the full sound. The personal pronouns also differ materially in the respective countries.

Attempts have been made to compose a Grammar of the Malay tongue, upon the principles on which those of the European languages are formed. But the absurdity of such productions is obvious. Where there is no inflexion of either nouns or verbs, there can be no cases, declensions, moods, or conjugations. All this is performed by the addition

of certain words expressive of a determinate meaning, which should not be considered as mere auxiliaries, or as particles subservient to other words. Thus, in the instance of *Rooms*, a house; "*derree pada rooms*" signifies "from a house"; but it would be talking without use or meaning, to say that *derree pada* is the sign of the ablative case of that noun, for then every preposition should equally require an appropriate case, and as well as "of," "to" and "from," we should have a case for "*deatas rooms*"—on top of the house." So of verbs: "*calio sayo boolea gellan*"—"if I could walk:" this may be termed the preter-imperfect tense of the subjunctive or potential mood, of the verb *gellan*; whereas it is in fact a sentence, of which *gellan*, *boolea*, &c. are constituent words.* It is improper, I say, to talk of the case of a noun, which does not change its termination, or the mood of a verb, which does not alter its form. An useful set of observations might be collected, for speaking the language with correctness and propriety, but they must be as different from the artificial and technical rules of our grammarians, as the dress of an European lady, from the simplicity of a Malay habit.

Interior people
use languages
different from
the Malay.

Beside the Malay there are a variety of languages spoken on Sumatra, which, however, have not only a manifest affinity among themselves, but also to that general language which is found to prevail in, and to be indigenous to all the islands of the eastern sea; from Madagascar to the remotest of Captain Cook's discoveries; comprehending a wider extent than the Roman, or any other tongue, has yet boasted. Indisputable examples of this connexion and similarity, I have exhibited in a paper which the Society of Antiquaries have done me the honor to publish in their *Archæologia*. In different places it has been more or less

* Bowrey, who has written on this subject, constitutes his future tense, of the word "*maoo*," thus, "*camee maoo barcha*," which is, "we chuse, or are inclined to read." To form the Passive voice, he says the particle "*ber*" is to be prefixed; but he is mistaken, for "I send this letter" is expressed in Malay, by "*sayo ber-kirim surat maoo*." These endeavors to square every thing to our own local and partial ideas, put me in mind of some vocabularies I have seen, in which the country titles were thus explained—*Pangeras*—a Duke:—*Datto*—an Earl: *Dupatty*—a Lord Mayor.

mixed:

mixed and corrupted, but between the most dissimilar branches, an evident sameness of many radical words is apparent, and in some, very distant from each other in point of situation, as for instance the Philipines and Madagascar, the deviation of the words is scarcely more than is observed in the dialects of neighbouring provinces of the same kingdom.*

The principal internal languages of Sumatra, are the Rejang and the Batta, whose difference is marked, not so much by the want of correspondence in the terms, as by the circumstance of their being each expressed in a distinct and peculiar written character. This I conceive to be extraordinary, and perhaps singular, in the history of human improvement; that two divisions of people on the same island, with equal claims to originality, in stages of civilization nearly equal, and speaking languages derived from the same source, should write in characters essentially different from each other, and from the rest of the world. What corroborates the evidence of the alphabets being separate and unconnected inventions, is, that the order of the letters is not the same; as will appear by an inspection of the specimens I have subjoined for the gratification of the curious.† The Achenese making use of the Arabic character, their language has the less claim to originality. The Lam-poon, as a dialect, is sufficiently distinct from all the others, but a few of the letters of the alphabet, particularly the first and second, are expressed by characters manifestly the same with the Rejang, though the major part seem entirely unlike. Perhaps, as the Greeks are said to have

They have peculiar writing characters.

* I am engaged in an attempt to render this comparison of languages more extensive, and as far as possible, to bring specimens of all those spoken in the known world, into one point of view.

† See the following plate. The *Javanses*, and all other eastern writing, that I have examined, differs as much from these, as the *Rejang* from the *Batta*. The specimen of a *Javan* alphabet given in Corneille le Brun is very just. The *Tagala* alphabet is to be found in Thevenot. *Relation des Isles Philippines*.

done in the days of Cadmus, the Lamppoons may have borrowed from their neighbours, in order to complete the number of their letters. All these people, in writing, form their lines from the left hand towards the right, contrary to the practice of the Malays and the Arabians.

Write on bark
of trees.

and on bam-
boo,

Their writings, of any bulk and importance, are executed with ink, on the inner bark of a tree, cut into narrow strips of considerable length, and folded together in squares; each square or fold answering for a page. On more common occasions they write on the outer coat of a joint of bamboo, sometimes whole, and sometimes split into pieces of two or three inches in breadth, with the point of their creese or other weapon, which serves the purpose of a stylus.* These writings or scratchings rather, are often performed with a considerable degree of neatness; of which I have specimens in my possession, as well as of their larger works. The proportion of those among the natives who can read and write, particularly the Battas, is very great, and perhaps not surpassed in many countries of Europe.

None of these languages are so agreeable to the ear as the Malay, and the Lamphoon in particular is very guttural, making frequent use of the sound we denote by "g," which they introduce even in Malay words, and liquifying the consonant "r." Thus the word *Croce*, they pronounce *Cogh-ee*, and *bras* they change into *beas*.†

In Java, Siam, and other parts of the east, beside the common language of the country, there is established a court language, spoken by

* The Chinese are said, by their historians, to have written on pieces of Bamboo, before they invented paper.

† It is remarkable that the Malays cannot express the consonant F, or Ph, nor the people of the island *Neas*, near Sumatra, the consonant P. The same distinction is observed amongst the inhabitants of some of the South Sea islands, and I believe holds good with respect to the Persian and Arabian alphabets.

persons of rank only. This distinction, artfully invented for the purpose of keeping the vulgar at a distance, and inspiring them with respect for what they cannot understand, does not take place in any part of Sumatra, among the inhabitants of which, disparity of situation is not attended with much reserve, or distance of behavior between the persons.

SPECIMENS of LANGUAGES spoken on SUMATRA.

	Malay.	Acheen.	Batta.	Rejang.	Lampoon.
One	Satoo	Sah	Sadah	Bo	Sye
Two	Duo	Dua	Deo	Dooy	Rowah
Three	Teego	Tloo	Toloo	Tellou	Tullo
Four	Ampat	Paat	Opat	'Mpat	Ampah
Five	Leemo	Leemung	Leemah	Lemo	Leemah
Six	Anam	'Nam	Onam	Noom	Annam
Seven	Toojo	Toojo	Paitoo	Toojoa	Peetoo
Eight	Slappan	D'lappan	Ooalloo	Delapoon	Ooalloo
Nine	Sambilan	Sakoorang	Secah	Sembilan	Secwah
Ten	Sapooloo	Saploo	Sapooloo	Depooloo	Pooloo
Husband	Lackee	Lackaye	Morah	Lackye	Cadjoon
Wife	Beence	Beenaye	Abou	Sooma	Cadjoon
Father	Bapa	Bah	Ammah	Bapa	Bapa
Mother	Mau	Mau	Enang	Indo	Enah
Head	Capallo	Oolou	Ooloo	Oolou	Ooloo
Byes	Matto	Matta	Mahtah	Matty	Mattah
Nose	Eedong	Eedoon	Aygong	Ecoong	Eerong
Hair	Ramboot	Oh	Oboo	Boo	Boohoo
Teeth	Geeggee	Geguy	Ningee	Aypen	Eepan
Hand	Tangan	Jarroey	Tangan	Tangoon	Chooloo
Day	Haree	Ooraye	Torang-haree	Beely-looeng	Rannee
Night	Mallam	Mallam	Borgning	B.-calemmoon	Beenghee
White	Pootee	Pootee	Nabottar	Pooteah	Mandack
Black	Etam	Hetam	Nabeero	Meloo	Malloom
Good	Baye	Gaet	Dengen	Baye	Buttie
Die	Mattee	Mattay	Mahtay	Mattoee	Jahal
Fire	Appes	Appooy	Ahpee	Op ay	Aphooy
Water	Ayer	Eer	Ayck	Beole	Wye
Earth	Fana	Tano	Tana	Pecta	Tanno
Coconut	Clappe	Ob	Crambee	Neele	Clappah
Rice	Bras	Breecagh	Dahano	Blas	Beecas
Fish	Eecun	Incoor	Daktay	'Conn	Bwah
Hog	Babee	Booy	Babee	Sooetemba	Babee
Sun	Matte-haree	Mattowraye	Mahtah haree	Mattay-beely	Mata-rannee
Moon	Boolan	Booloon	Boolan	Booloon	Boolan
I	Ambo, Sayo	Ooloon	Apoo	Ookoo	Gniah
God	Allah-tallah	Allah	Daibattah	Oola-tallo	Alla-talla

Comparative

REJANG ALPHABET.

ka	ga	nga	ta	da	na	pa	ba	ma	cha	ja	nia
sa	ra	la	ea	ooa	hha	mba	ngga	nda	nja	a	

§ Mark of Commencement.

o Mark of Pause.

The Letters of these Alphabets are governed by a variety of Signs the application of which considerably alters the terminating sound. Those which belong peculiarly to the Rejang are as follows.

<p>* Duo deatas which changes the Termination from.....a to an</p> <p>* Cajeena or Duo debona changes a to ah</p> <p>* Cajoonyoong.....to ar</p> <p>* Calowan.....to ee</p> <p>* Camercha.....to ay</p>	<p>! Catoolang changes.....a to ang</p> <p>! Cameetan.....to oo</p> <p>! Catadling.....to i</p> <p>! Catooloong.....to on</p>
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ka kan kah kar kre kay kang koo ki kon
 la pa gua ja da nya e eea oo

The Letters are never joined in writing, each for the most part representing a syllable
The Writing is from the left hand to the right.

BATTA

a	ha	na	ma	ra	ta	ba	na	sa	ga
la	pa	gua	ja	da	nya	e	eea	oo	

LAMPOON

ka	ga	gna	pa	ba	ma	ta	da	na	cha
ja	gna	ea	a	la	ra	sa	na	ha	

1

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Comparative state of the Sumatrans in civil society—Difference of Character between the Malay and other inhabitants. Government—Titles and power of the chiefs among the Rejangs. Influence of the Europeans—Government in Passumah.

CONSIDERED as a people occupying a certain rank in the scale of civil society, it is not easy to determine the proper situation of the inhabitants of this island. Though far distant from that point to which the polished states of Europe, have aspired, they yet look down, with an interval almost as great, on the savage tribes of Africa and America. Perhaps if we distinguish mankind summarily into five classes; but of which each would admit of numberless subdivisions; we might assign a third place, to the more civilized Sumatrans, and a fourth, to the remainder. In the first class, I should of course include some of the republics of ancient Greece, in the days of their splendor; the Romans, for some time before and after the Augustan age; France, England, and other refined nations of Europe, in the latter centuries; and perhaps China. The second might comprehend the great Asiatic empires at the period of their prosperity; Persia, the Mogul, the Turkish, with some European kingdoms. In the third class, along with the Sumatrans, Xoloans, and a few other states of the eastern archipelago, I should rank the nations on the northern coast of Africa, and the more polished Arabs. The fourth class, with the less civilized Sumatrans, will take in the people of the new discovered islands in the South Sea; perhaps the celebrated Mexican and Peruvian empires; the Tartar hordes; and all those societies of people in various parts of the globe, who, possessing personal property, and acknowledging some species of established subordination, rise one step above the Carribs, the New Hollanders, the Laplanders,

*Comparative
State of society.*

Laplanders, and the Hottentots, who exhibit a picture of mankind in its rudest and most humiliating aspect.*

Few improvements adopted from the Europeans.

As mankind are by nature so prone to imitation, it may seem surprising that these people have not derived a greater share of improvement, in manners and arts, from their long connexion with Europeans, particularly with the English, who have now been settled among them for an hundred years. Though strongly attached to their own habits, they are nevertheless sensible of their inferiority, and readily admit the preference which our attainments in science, and especially in mechanics, intitle us to. I have heard a man exclaim, after contemplating the structure and uses of a house clock, "Is it not fitting that such as *we*, should be slaves to people who have the ingenuity to invent, and the skill to construct, so wonderful a machine as this? "The sun," he added, "is a machine of this nature. But who winds it up, said his companion? Who but *Allah*, replied he."

Some probable causes of this backwardness may be suggested. We carry on few or no species of manufacture at our settlements: every thing is imported ready wrought to its highest perfection: the natives have no opportunity of examining the first process, or the progress of the work. Abundantly supplied with every article of convenience from Europe, and prejudiced in their favor because from thence, we make almost little use of the raw materials Sumatra affords. We do not spin its cotton; we do not rear its silk-worms; we do not smelt its metals; we do not even hew its stone: neglecting these, it is in vain we would exhibit to the people for their improvement in the arts, our rich brocades, our time-pieces, or display to them, in drawings, the elegance

* There are three scales, pointed out by different writers (Le Poivre, Robertson, and Richardson) by which to measure and ascertain the state of civilization any people have arrived at: the one is the degree of perfection of their agriculture; another, their progress in the art of numeration; and a third the number of abstract terms in their language. Forming a judgment by these tests, the reader will be able to determine with what share of propriety I have assigned the above rank to the Sumatrans.

of our architecture. Our manners likewise are little calculated to excite their approval and imitation. Not to insist on the licentiousness that has at times been imputed to our communities; the pleasures of the table; emulation in wine; boisterous mirth; juvenile frolics, and puerile amusements, which do not pass without serious, perhaps contemptuous, animadversion—setting these aside, it appears to me, that even our best models are but ill adapted for the imitation of a rude, incurious, and unambitious people. Their senses, not their reason, should be acted on, to rouse them from their lethargy; their imaginations must be warmed; a spirit of enthusiasm must pervade and animate them, before they will exchange the pleasures of indolence for those of industry. The philosophical influence that prevails, and characterises the present age, in the western world, is unfavorable to the producing these effects. A modern man of sense and manners, despises, or endeavors to dispise, ceremony, parade, attendance, superfluous and splendid ornaments in his dress or furniture: preferring ease and convenience, to cumbrous pomp, the person first in rank is no longer distinguished by his apparel, his équipage, or his number of servants, from those inferior to him; and though possessing real power, is divested of almost every external mark of it. Even our religious worship partakes of the same simplicity. It is far from my intention to condemn or depreciate these manners, considered in a general scale of estimation. Probably in proportion as the prejudices of sense are dissipated by the light of reason, we advance towards the highest degree of perfection our natures are capable of: possibly perfection may consist in a certain medium which we have already stepped beyond; but certainly all this refinement is utterly incomprehensible to an uncivilized mind, which cannot discriminate the ideas of humility and meanness. We appear to the Sumatrans to have degenerated from the more splendid virtues of our predecessors. Even the richness of their laced suits, and the gravity of their perukes, attracted a degree of admiration; and I have heard the difuse of the large hoops worn by the ladies, pathetically lamented. The quick, and to them inexplicable, revolutions of our fashions, are subject of much astonishment, and they naturally conclude, that those modes can have but little

intrinsic merit which we are so ready to change; or at least that our caprice renders us very incompetent to be the guides of their improvement. Indeed, in matters of his kind, it is not to be supposed that an imitation should take place, owing to the total incongruity of manners in other respects, and the dissimilarity of natural and local circumstances. But perhaps I am superfluously investigating minute and partial causes of an effect, which one general one may be thought sufficient to produce. Under the frigid, and more especially the torrid zone, the inhabitants will naturally preserve an uninterrupted similarity and consistency of manners, from the uniform influence of their climate. In the temperate zones, where this influence is equivocal, the manners will be fluctuating, and dependent rather on moral than physical causes.

Difference in
character be-
tween the Ma-
lays and other
Sumatrans.

The Malay and native Sumatran differ more in the features of their mind than in those of their person. Although we know not that this island, in the revolutions of human grandeur, ever made a distinguished figure in the history of the world, (for the Achenese, though powerful in the sixteenth century, were very low in point of civilization) yet the Malay inhabitants have an appearance of degeneracy, and this renders their character totally different from that which we conceive of a savage, however justly their ferocious spirit of plunder on the eastern coast, may have drawn upon them that name. They seem rather to be sinking into obscurity, though with opportunities of improvement, than emerging from thence, to a state of civil or political importance. They retain a strong share of pride, but not of that laudable kind which restrains men from the commission of mean and fraudulent actions. They possess much low cunning and plausible duplicity, and know how to dissemble the strongest passions and most inveterate antipathy, beneath the utmost composure of features, till the opportunity of gratifying their resentment offers. Veracity, gratitude, and integrity are not to be found in the list of their virtues, and their minds are almost totally strangers to the sentiments of honor and infamy. They are jealous and vindictive. Their courage is desultory, the effect of a momentary en-
thusiasm.

thufiasm, which enables them to perform deeds of incredible defperation; but they are ftrangers to that fteady magnanimity, that cool heroic refolution in battle, which conftitutes in our idea the perfection of this quality, and renders it a virtue.* Yet it muft be obferved, that from an apathy almoft paradoxical, they fuffer under fentence of death, in cafes where no indignant paffions could operate to buoy up the mind to a contempt of punifhment, with aftonifhing compofure and indifference; uttering little more on thefe occafions, than a proverbial faying, common among them, expreffive of the inevitability of fate—" *apoo bookee booa?*" To this ftoicifm, their belief in predeftination, and very imperfect idea of a future, eternal exiftence, doubtlefs contribute.

Some writer has remarked, that a refemblance is ufually found, between the difpofition and qualities of the beafts proper to any country, and thofe of the indigenou inhabitants of the human fpecies, where an intercourfe with foreigners has not deftroyed the genuinenefs of their character. The Malay may be compared to the buffalo and the tiger. In his domeftic ftate, he is indolent, ftubborn, and voluptuous as the former, and in his adventurous life, he is infidious, blood-thirfty, and rapacious as the latter. Thus the Arab is faid to refemble his camel, and the placid Gentoo his cow.

The original Sumatran, though he partakes in fome degree of the Malay vices, and partly from the contagion of example, poffeffes many exclusive virtues; but they are more properly of the negative than the pofitive kind. He is mild, peaceable, and forbearing, unlefs his anger be roused by violent provocation, when he is implacable in his refentments. He is temperate and fober, being equally abftemious in meat and drink. The diet of the natives is moftly vegetable; water is their only beverage; and though they will kill a fowl or a goat for a ftranger, whom perhaps they never faw before, nor ever expect to fee again, they

Character of
native Suma-
tran.

In the hiftory of the Portuguefe wars in this part of the eaft, there appears fome exception to this remark, and particularly in the character of *Lacsmanna*, who was truly a great man and moft confummate warrior.

are rarely guilty of that extravagance for themselves; nor even at their festivals (*bimbang*), where there is a plenty of meat, do they eat much of any thing but rice. Their hospitality is extreme, and bounded by their ability alone. Their manners are simple; they are generally, except among the chiefs, devoid of the Malay cunning and chicanery; yet endued with a quickness of apprehension, and on many occasions discovering a considerable degree of penetration and sagacity. In respect to women, they are remarkably continent, without any share of insensibility. They are modest; particularly guarded in their expressions; courteous in their behavior; grave in their deportment, being seldom or never excited to laughter; and patient to a great degree. On the other hand, they are litigious; indolent; addicted to gaming; dishonest in their dealings with strangers, which they esteem no moral defect; suspicious; regardless of truth; mean in their transactions; servile; though cleanly in their persons, dirty in their apparel, which they never wash. They are careless and improvident of the future, because their wants are few, for though poor, they are not necessitous; nature supplying with extraordinary facility, whatever she has made requisite for their existence. Science and the arts have not, by extending their views, contributed to enlarge the circle of their desires; and the various refinements of luxury, which in polished societies become necessities of life, are totally unknown to them.*

● **Government.**

Having endeavoured to trace the character of these people, with as much fidelity and accuracy as possible, I shall now proceed to give an account of their government, laws, customs, and manners; and in order to convey to the reader the clearest ideas in my power, I shall develop the various circumstances in such order and connexion, as shall

* The *Macassar* and *Bugnessi* people, who come annually in their *praus* from *Celebes* to trade at Sumatra, are looked up to by the inhabitants, as their superiors in manners. The Malays affect to copy their style of dress, and frequent allusions to the feats and achievements of these people are made in their songs. Their reputation for courage, which certainly surpasses that of all other people in the eastern seas, acquires them this flattering distinction. They also derive part of the respect paid them, from the richness of the cargoes they import, and the spirit with which they spend the produce in gaming, cock-fighting, and opium-smoking.

appear

appear best to answer this intent, without confining myself, in every instance, to a rigid and scrupulous arrangement into distinct heads.

The inhabitants of the *Rejang* country live in villages or *doosoons*, each under the government of a magistrate styled *Dupatty*. His dependants are termed *Ana-booa*,* and in number seldom exceed one hundred. A certain proportion of the *dupatties* belonging to each river, the villages being always situated by the water side,† are chosen to meet in a legislative or judicial capacity, at the *qualloe* or river's mouth, and these are distinguished by the name of *Proatteen*. The *Pangeran* or prince of the country, presides over the whole. I would point out in what consists the fealty of a *dupatty* to a *pangeran*, and of his *ana booa* to him, but so very little is to be observed in either case, that it is not an easy matter to describe it. Almost without arts, and with but little industry, the state of property is nearly equal among all the inhabitants, and the chiefs scarcely differ but in title, from the bulk of the people. Their authority is no more than nominal, being without that coercive power, necessary to make themselves feared and implicitly obeyed. This is the natural result of poverty among nations habituated to peace; where the two great political engines, of interest and military force, are wanting. Their government is founded in opinion, and the submission of the people is voluntary. The domestic rule of a private family, beyond a doubt, suggested first the idea of government in society, and this people having made but small advances in civil policy, theirs retains a strong resemblance of its original. It is connected also with the principle of the feudal system, into which it would probably settle, should it attain to a greater degree of refinement. All the other governments throughout the island are likewise a mixture of the patriarchal and feudal; and it may be observed, that where a spirit of conquest has reduced the inha-

Government
among the
Rejangs.

Pangeran
or chief.

His authority.

* Apparently a figurative expression, from fruit hanging on a tree.

† The names which we usually apply to countries or districts, belong properly to the rivers; and it is, with the natives, more common to say, the people of such a river, than of such a country. Rivers in Europe divide provinces, but in India they are considered as running through the center of them.

bitants.

bitants under the subjection of another power, or has added foreign districts to their dominion, there the feudal maxims prevail : where the natives, from situation or disposition, have long remained undisturbed by revolutions, there the simplicity of patriarchal rule obtains ; which is not only the first, and natural form of government, of all rude nations rising from imperceptible beginnings, but is perhaps also the highest state of perfection they can ultimately arrive at. It is not in this art alone that we perceive the next step from consummate refinement, leading to simplicity.

Much limited.

The foundation of right to government among these people, seems, as I said, to be the general consent. If a chief exerts an undue authority, or departs from their long established customs and usages, they conceive themselves at liberty to relinquish their allegiance. A commanding aspect, an insinuating manner, a ready fluency in discourse, and a penetration and sagacity in unravelling the little intricacies of their disputes, are qualities which seldom fail to procure to their possessor, respect and influence, sometimes perhaps superior to that of an acknowledged chief. The pangeran indeed claims despotic sway, and as far as he can find the means, scruples not to exert it ; but his revenues being insufficient to enable him to keep up any force, for carrying his mandates into execution, his actual powers are very limited, and he has seldom found himself able to punish a turbulent subject, any otherwise than by private assassination. In appointing the heads of doosoons, he does little more than confirm the choice already made among the inhabitants, and was he arbitrarily to name a person of a different tribe, or from another place, he would not be obeyed. He levies no tax nor has any revenue, (what he derives from the India Company being out of the question) or emolument from his subjects, other than what accrues to him from the determination of causes. Appeals lie to him in all cases, and none of the inferior courts, or assemblies of proatteens, are competent to pronounce sentence of death. But all punishments being, by the laws of the country, commutable for fines, and the appeals being attended with expence and loss of time, the parties generally abide by the first decision. Those
doosoons

doosoons which are situated nearest to the residence of the pangeran, at *Soongey-lamo*, acknowledge somewhat more of subordination than the distant ones, which, even in case of war, esteem themselves at liberty to assist or not, as they think proper, without being liable to consequences. In answer to a question on this point, "we are his subjects not his slaves," replied one of the proatteens. But from the pangeran you hear a tale widely different. He has been known to say, in a political conversation; "such and such doosoons, there will be no trouble with: they are my powder and shot;" explaining himself by adding, that he could dispose of the inhabitants, as his ancestors had done, to purchase ammunition in time of war.

The father of *Pangeran Munco Raja* (whose name is preserved from oblivion by the part he took in the expulsion of the English from Fort Marlborough in the year 1719) was the first who bore the title of *pangeran* of *Soongey-lamo*. He had before been simply *Bejinda Sebyam*. Till about an hundred years ago, the southern coast of Sumatra, as far as *Oori* river, was dependent on the king of *Bantam*, whose *Jennang* (lieutenant or deputy) came yearly to *Si'ebur* or *Bencoolen*, collected the pepper, and filled up the vacancies, by nominating, or rather confirming in their election, the *proatteens*. Soon after that time, the English having established a settlement at Bencoolen, the *jennang* informed the chiefs that he should visit them no more, and raising the two head men of *Soongey lamo* and *Soongey etam*,* to the dignity of *pangeran*, gave into their hands the government of the country, and withdrew his master's claim. Such is the account given by the present possessors, of the origin of their titles, which nearly corresponds with the recorded transactions of the period. It followed naturally that the pangeran should lay claim to the absolute authority of the king whom he represented, and that the proatteens should still consider him but as one of themselves, and pay him little more than nominal obedience. He had no power to enforce

Origin of the title of pangeran in Rejang.

* The latter is chief of the *Lemba* country, in the neighbourhood of Bencoolen river, on which however, the former possesses some villages, and is chief of the Rejang tribes.

his

his plea, and they retain their privileges, taking no oath of allegiance, nor submitting to be bound by any positive engagement. They speak of him however with respect, and in any moderate requisition, that does not affect their *addat* or customs, they are ready enough to aid him, (*tolong*, as they express it) but rather as matter of favor, than acknowledged obligation.

The exemption the *Dupatties* contend for, from absolute subjection, they allow in turn to their *anabooas*, whom they govern by the influence of opinion only. The respect paid to a *Dupatty*, is little more than as to an Elder of a family held in esteem, and this the old men of the doosoon share with him, sitting by his side in judgment on the little differences that arise among themselves. If they cannot determine the cause, or the dispute be with one of a separate village, the proatteens of the same tribe that live adjacent, meet for the purpose. From these litigations arise some small emoluments to the *dupatty*, whose dignity, in other respects, is rather an expence than an advantage. In the erection of public works, such as their *Balli* or town hall, he contributes a larger share of materials. He receives and entertains all strangers, his dependants furnishing their quotas of provision, on particular occasions, and their hospitality is such, that food and lodging are never refused to those who ask it.

**Succession of
Dupatties.**

Though the rank of *dupatty* is not strictly hereditary, the son, when of age, and capable, generally succeeds the father, at his decease: if too young, the father's brother, or such one of the family as appears most qualified, assumes the post; not as a regent, but in his own right; and the minor comes in perhaps at the next vacancy.

Tribes.

The *Rejangs* are distinguished into tribes, the descendants of a different *pooyang* or ancestor. Of these there are four principal tribes, *Joorcallang*, *Beremannie*, *Seloopo* and *Tooby*; said to derive their origin from four brothers, and to have been united from time immemorial in a league offensive and defensive: the permanency however of this bond, may be conjectured

conjectured to have been owing to the expediency resulting from their situation, rather than their consanguinity, or any formal compact. There are also several inferior tribes.

Each river or district, (for it is by the rivers the parts of the country are distinguished) and indeed each doosoon, is independent of, though not unconnected with, its neighbours; acting in concert, only by specific consent. On every river there is at least one *Pambarab* or superior *proatteen*, who differs from the rest, in the right of presiding at those suits and festivals, in which two or more doosoons have a common concern, with a larger allotment of fines and provision.* If more tribes than one are settled on the same river, each has usually its *pambarab*, who is chosen by the respective *proatteens*: these are chosen in like manner by the *dupatties*, but with the concurrence of the elders of the doosoon. If the choice displeases any of the inhabitants, they agree among themselves what chief they will follow, and remove to his doosoon. There is no restraint or compulsion in the case. Sometimes a few families separate themselves, and elect a chief, but without contesting the title of him whom they leave. The chiefs do not however assume the title of *dupatty*, without being confirmed by the *pangeran*, or by the Company's Resident, who in truth exercises many of the functions of sovereignty.

Influence of
the India Com-
pany.

The system of government among the people near the sea coast, who, towards the southern extreme of the island, are the planters of pepper, is much influenced by the power of the Europeans, who are virtually the lords paramount. The advantages derived to the subject from their sway, both in a political and civil sense, are infinitely greater than persons at a distance are usually inclined to suppose. Oppressions may be sometimes complained of at the hands of individuals, but, to the honor of the Company's service let me add, they have been very rare, and

* The most distinguished of the heroes of the *Iliad* were served at table with a larger proportion of chips.

of inconsiderable magnitude. Where a degree of discretionary power is intrusted to single persons, abuses will, in the nature of things, arise in some instances; cases may occur, in which the private passions of the Resident, will interfere with his public duty; but the door has ever been open for redress, and examples have been made. To destroy this influence and authority in order to prevent these consequences, were to cut off a limb in order to remove a partial complaint. By the Company's power, the districts over which it extends, are preserved in uninterrupted peace. How invaluable a blessing this, let Poland, let America, let other desolated countries speak. Were it not for this power, every doo- soon of every river would be at war with its neighbour. The natives themselves allow it, and it was evinced, even in the short space of time the English were absent from the coast, in the former war with France. Hostilities of district against district, so frequent among the independent nations to the northward, are, in the Company's jurisdiction, things unheard of; and those dismal catastrophes, which, in all the Malay islands, are wont to attend on private feuds, but very rarely happen. "I tell you honestly," said a dupatty, much irritated against one of his neighbours, "that it is only you," pointing to the Resident of *Leye*, "that prevent my plunging this weapon into his breast." The Resident is also considered as the protector of the people, from the injustice and oppression of the chiefs. This oppression, though not carried on in the way of open force, which the ill-defined nature of their authority would not support, is scarcely less grievous to the sufferer. Expounders of the law, and deeply versed in the chicanery of it, they are ever lying in wait to take advantage of the necessitous and ignorant, till they have stripped them of their property, their family, and their liberty. To prevent these practices; the partial administration of justice in consequence of bribes; the subornation of witnesses; and the like iniquities, a continual exertion of the Resident's attention and authority is required; and as that authority is accidentally relaxed, the country falls into confusion.

It is true, that this interference is not strictly consonant with the spirit of the original contracts, entered into by the Company with the native chiefs, who in consideration of protection from their enemies; regular purchase of the produce of their country; and a gratuity to themselves, proportioned to the quantity of that produce, undertake, on their part, to oblige their dependants to plant pepper; to refrain from the use of opium, the practice of gaming, and other vicious excesses; and to punish them in case of non-compliance. But however prudent or equal these contracts might have been at the time their form was established, a change of circumstances; the gradual and necessary increase of the Company's sway, which the peace and good of the country required; and the tacit consent of the chiefs themselves, (among whom the oldest living has never been used to regard the Company, who have conferred on them their respective dignities, as their equals, or as trading in their districts upon sufferance) have long antiquated them; and custom and experience have introduced in their room, an influence on one side, and a subordination on the other, more consistent with the power of the Company, and more suitable to the benefits derived from the moderate and humane exercise of that power. Prescription has given its sanction to this change, and the people have submitted to it without murmuring; as it was introduced, not suddenly, but with the natural course of events, and bettered the condition of the whole, while it tended to curb the rapacity of the few. Then let not short-sighted or designing persons, upon false principles of justice, or ill-digested notions of liberty, rashly endeavor to overturn a scheme of government, doubtless not perfect, but which seems best adapted to the circumstances it has respect to, and attended with the fewest disadvantages. Let them not vainly exert themselves to procure redress of imaginary grievances, for persons who complain not, or to infuse a spirit of freedom and independence, in a climate where nature possibly never intended they should flourish, and which, if obtained, would apparently be attended with effects, that all their advantages would badly compensate.

Government
in Passummah.

In *Passummah*, which nearly borders upon *Rejang*, to the southward, there appears some difference in the mode of government, though the same spirit pervades both; the chiefs being equally without a regular coercive power, and the people equally free in the choice of whom they will serve. This is an extensive, and, comparatively, populous country, bounded on the north west by that of *Lamattang*, and on the south east by that of *Lampoon*; the river of *Padang-gochie* marking the division from the latter, near the sea coast. It is distinguished into *Passummah lebbar*, or the broad, which lies inland, extending to within a day's journey of *Mooaro Moolang*, on *Palembang* river; and *Passummah ooleo Manna*, which is on the western side of the range of hills, whither the inhabitants are said to have mostly removed, in order to avoid the government of the Dutch.

Passummah is governed by four pangerans, who are perfectly independent of each other, but they acknowledge a kind of sovereignty in the Sultan of *Palembang*, from whom they hold a *chop* (warrant) and receive a *saling* (investiture), on their accession.* This subordination is the consequence of the king of *Bantam's* former influence over this part of the island, *Palembang* being a port at that time dependent on him, and still on the Dutch, whose instrument the sultan is; and the people are for the greater part Javans.† There is an inferior *pangeran* in almost every doosoon) that title being nearly as common in *Passummah*, as *dupatty* towards the sea coast) who are chosen by the inhabitants of the doosoon, and confirmed by the superior pangeran, whom they assist in the determination of causes. In the low country, where the pepper planters reside, whose race is mixed with colonists from *Rejang* and a place

* The Grand Signior in like manner sends a vest and turban to his great vassals.

† "A king of Bantam, in 1596, fell before Palinban, a rebel town of Sumatra which he was besieging; and the siege was raised thereupon." Navigation aux Ind. Ori. 1609.
Pangeran is properly a Javense title, introduced on Sumatra, and prevailing only in the southern part.

called

called *Hadjee*, the title of *Calippab* is found. Each of these preside over various tribes, which have been collected at different times, and have ranged themselves, some under one, and some under another chief; having also their superior *proatteen*, or *pambarab*, as in the northern districts. On the rivers of *Peeno*, *Manna* and *Bankannon*, are two calippabs respectively, some of whom are also *pangerans*, which last seems to be here rather a title of honor, or family distinction, than of magistracy. They are independent of each other, owning no superior; and their number, according to the ideas of the people, cannot be increased.

Laws

Laws and customs—Mode of deciding Causes—Code of Laws.

Laws or customs.

THERE is no word in the languages of the island which properly and strictly signifies *Law*; nor is there any person or class of persons among the *Rejangs*, regularly invested with a *legislative* power. They are governed in their various disputes, by a set of long established customs (*addat*), handed down to them from their ancestors, the authority of which is founded on usage and general consent. The chiefs, in pronouncing their decisions, are not heard to say, “so the law directs” but, “such is the custom.” It is true, that if any case arises, for which there is no precedent on record (of memory), they deliberate and agree on some mode, that shall serve as a rule in future similar circumstances. If the affair be trifling, this is seldom objected to, but when it is a matter of consequence, the pangeran, or calippah, consults with the proateens, or lower order of chiefs, who frequently desire time to consider of it, and consult with the inhabitants of their doosoon. When the point is thus determined, the people voluntarily submit to observe it as an established custom; but they do not acknowledge a right in the chiefs, to constitute what laws they think proper, or to repeal or alter their ancient usages, of which they are extremely tenacious and jealous. It is notwithstanding true, that by the influence of the Europeans, they have at times been prevailed on, to submit to innovations in their customs; but, except when they perceived a manifest advantage from the change, they have generally seized an opportunity of reverting to the old mode.

Mode of deciding causes.

All causes, both civil and criminal, are determined by the several chiefs of the district, assembled together, at stated times, for the purpose of distributing justice. These meetings are called *becharro*, (which signifies also to discourse or debate) and among us, by an easy corruption, *bechars*. Their manner of settling litigations, in points of property, is rather a species of arbitration, each party previously binding himself

to

to submit to the decision, than through a coercive power possessed by the court, for the redress of wrongs.

The want of a written criterion of the laws, and the imperfect stability of traditionary usage, must frequently, in the intricacies of their suits, give rise to contradictory decisions; particularly as the interests and passions of the chiefs are but too often concerned in the determination of the causes that come before them. This evil had long been perceived by the English Residents, who, in the countries where we are settled, preside at the bechars, and being instigated by the splendid example of the Governor-general of Bengal, under whose direction a code of the laws of that empire was compiled, it was resolved, that the servants of the Company at each of the subordinates, should, with the assistance of the ablest and most experienced of the natives, attempt to reduce to writing, and form a system of the usages of the Sumatrans, in their respective residencies. This was accordingly executed in some instances, and a translation of that compiled in the residency of *Laye* coming into my possession, I insert it here, in the original form, as being attended with more authority and precision, than any account furnished from my own memorandums could pretend to.

Code of Laws.

REJANG LAWS.

“The laws and customs of the *Rejangs*, hitherto preserved by tradition, are now, after being discussed, amended, and ratified in an assembly of the *pangeran*, *pambarabs* and *proatteens*, committed to writing, in order that they may not be liable to alteration; that justice may be regularly and impartially administered; that those deserving death or fine may meet their reward; that causes may be brought before the proper judges, and due amends made for defaults; that the compensation for murder may be fully paid; that property may be equitably divided; that what is borrowed may be restored; that gifts may become the undoubted property of the receiver; that debts may be paid, and credits received, agreeably to the customs
“that

“ that have been ever in force, beneath the heavens and on the face of
 “ the earth. By the observance of the laws, a country is made to flourish,
 “ and where they are neglected or violated, ruin ensues.

“ B E C H A R S.

Process in suits “ The plaintiff and defendant first state to the bench the general circumstances of the case. If their accounts differ, and they consent to refer the matter to the decision of the proatteens, each party is to give a token, to the value of a *soocoo*, that he will abide by it, and to find security for the *chogo*, a sum stated to them, supposed to exceed the utmost probable damages.

	dollars.		dollars.
“ If the <i>chogo</i> do not exceed 30		the <i>beo</i> or fee paid by each is	1½
Ditto	30 to 50	ditto	— 2½
Ditto	50 to 100	ditto	— 5
Ditto	100 and upwards	ditto	— 9

“ All chiefs of *doosoons*, or independent *tallonys*, are entitled to a seat on the bench upon trials.

“ If the *pangeran* sits on the bechar, he is entitled to one half of all *beo*, and of such fines, or shares of fines, as fall to the chiefs; the *pambarabs* and other *proatteens* dividing the remainder.

“ If the *pangeran* be not present, the *pambarabs* have one third, and the other *proatteens* two thirds of the foregoing. Though a single *pambarab* only sit, he is equally entitled to the above one third. Of the other *proatteens*, five are requisite to make a quorum.

“ No bechar, the *chogo* of which exceeds five dollars, to be held by the *proatteens*, except in the presence of the Company's Resident, or his assistant (representing the *pangeran*.)

“ If a person maliciously brings a false accusation, and it is proved such, he is liable to pay a sum equal to that which the defendant would have incurred, had his design succeeded; which sum is to be divided between the defendant, and the other *proatteens*, half and half.

“ The

- " The fine for bearing false witness, is twenty dollars and a buffalo.
- " The punishment of perjury is left to the superior powers (*orang aloas*). Evidence here is not delivered on previous oath.

" I N H E R I T A N C E.

- " If the father leaves a will, or declares before witnesses his intentions relative to his effects or estate, his pleasure is to be followed in the distribution of them. Laws of inheritance.
- " If he dies intestate, and without declaring his intentions, the male children inherit, share and share alike, except that the house and *pesakko* (effects on which, from various causes, superstitious value is placed) devolve invariably to the eldest.
- " The mother (if by the mode of marriage termed *joojoor*) and the daughters, are dependent on the sons.
- " If a man, married by *semundo*, dies, leaving children, the effects remain to the wife and children. If the woman dies, the effects remain to the husband and children. If either dies, leaving no children, the family of the deceased is intitled to half the effects.

" O U T L A W R Y.

- " Any person unwilling to be answerable for the debts or actions of his son, or other relation under his charge, may outlaw him, by which Of outlawry. he, from that period, relinquishes all family connexion with him, and is no longer responsible for his conduct.
- " The outlaw to be delivered up to the Resident or pangeran, accompanied with his writ of outlawry, in duplicate, one copy to be lodged with the Resident, and one with the outlaw's pambarab.
- " The person who outlaws must pay all debts to that day.
- " On amendment, the outlaw may be recalled to his family, they paying such debts as he may have contracted whilst outlawed, and redeeming his writ by payment of ten dollars and a goat, to be divided among the pangeran and pambarabs.

- " If an outlaw commits murder he is to suffer death.
- " If murdered, a *bangoon*, or compensation, of fifty dollars, is to be paid for him to the pangeran.
- " If an outlaw wounds a person, he becomes a slave to the Company or pangeran for three years. If he absconds, and is afterwards killed, no bangoon is to be paid for him.
- " If an outlaw wounds a person, and is killed in the scuffle, no bangoon is to be paid for him.
- " If the relations harbour an outlaw, they are held willing to redeem him, and become answerable for his debts.

T H E F T.

Theft.

- " A person convicted of theft, pays double the value of the goods stolen, with a fine of twenty dollars and a buffalo, if they exceed the value of five dollars : if under five dollars, the fine is five dollars and a goat ; the value of the goods still doubled.
- " All thefts under five dollars, and all disputes for property, or offences to that amount, may be compromised by the proatteens whose dependants are concerned.
- " Neither assertion, nor oath of the prosecutor, are sufficient for conviction, without token (*cheemo*) of the robbery, viz. some article recovered of the goods stolen ; or evidence sufficient.
- " If any person, having permission to pass the night in the house of another, shall leave it before day-break, without giving notice to the family, he shall be held accountable for any thing that may be that night missing.
- " If a person passing the night in the house of another, does not commit his effects to the charge of the owner of it, the latter is not accountable, if they are stolen during the night. If he has given them in charge, and the stranger's effects, only, are lost during the night, the owner of the house becomes accountable. If effects both of the
owner

owner and lodger are stolen, each is to make oath to the other that he is not concerned in the robbery, and the parties put up with their loss, or retrieve it as they can.

" Oaths are usually made on the koraan, or at the grave of an ancestor, as the Mahometan religion prevails more or less. The party intended to be satisfied by the oath, generally prescribes the mode and purport of it.

" B A N G O O N.

Dollars.

" The <i>bangoon</i> or compensation for the murder of a <i>pambarab</i> is	500	Bangoon or compensation for murder.
Ditto — — — of an inferior <i>proatteen</i>	250	
Ditto — — — of a common person—man or boy	180	
Ditto — — — Ditto — woman or girl	150	
Ditto — — — of the legitimate children or wife of a <i>pambarab</i>	250	

Exclusive of the above, a fine of fifty dollars and a buffalo, as *tippong boomee* (expiation), is to be paid on the murder of a *pambarab*; of twenty dollars and a buffalo, on the murder of any other; which goes to the *pambarab* and *proatteens*.

" The bangoon of an outlaw is fifty dollars, without *tippong boomee*.

" No bangoon is to be paid for a person killed in the commission of a robbery.

" The bangoon of *pambarabs* and *proatteens* is to be divided between the *pangeran* and *pambarabs*; one half; and the family of the deceased; the other half.

" The bangoon of private persons is to be paid to their families; deducting the *addat oolassan* of ten per cent, to the *pambarabs* and *proatteens*.

" If a man kills his slave, he pays half his price, as bangoon, to the *pangeran*; and the *tippong boomee* to the *proatteens*.

" If a man kills his wife by *joojoor*, he pays her bangoon to her family, or to the *proatteens*, according as the *tallee kooloo* subsists or not.

- " If a man kills or wounds his wife by *semundo*, he pays the same as for a stranger.
- " If a man wounds his wife by *joojoor*, slightly, he pays one *tial* or two dollars.
- " If a man wounds his wife by *joojoor*, with a weapon, and an apparent intention of killing her, he pays a fine of twenty dollars.
- " If the *taliee kooloo* (tie of relationship) is broken, the wife's family can no longer claim bangoon or fine : they revert to the proatteens.
- " If a pambarab wounds his wife by *joojoor*, he pays five dollars and a goat.
- " If a pambarab's daughter, married by *joojoor*, is wounded by her husband, he pays five dollars and a goat.
- " For a wound occasioning the loss of an eye or limb, or imminent danger of death, half the bangoon is to be paid.
- " For a wound on the head, the *pampay*, or compensation is twenty dollars.
- " For other wounds, the *pampay* from twenty dollars upwards.
- " If a person is carried off and sold beyond the hills, the offender, if convicted, must pay the bangoon. If the person has been recovered previous to the trial, the offender pays half the bangoon.
- " If a man kills his brother, he pays to the proatteens the *sippong boomies*.
- " If a wife kills her husband, she must suffer death.
- " If a wife by *semundo* wounds her husband, her relations must pay what they would receive, if he wounded her.

D E B T S A N D C R E D I T S.

Debt.

- " On the death of a person in debt (unless he die an outlaw, or married by *ambel ana*) his nearest relation becomes accountable to the creditors.

" Of

- “ Of a person married by *ambel ana*, the family he married into, is answerable for debts contracted during the marriage: such as were previous to it, his relations must pay.
- “ A father or head of a family has hitherto been in all cases liable to the debts of his sons, or younger relations under his care; but to prevent as much as possible his suffering by their extravagance, it is now resolved,
- “ That if a young, unmarried man (*boojong*) borrows money, or purchases goods without the concurrence of his father, or of the head of his family, the parent shall not be answerable for the debt. Should the son use his father's name in borrowing, it shall be at the lender's risk, if the father disavows it.
- “ If any person gives credit to the debtor of another (publicly known as such; *mengceering* or *ba-bla*) the latter creditor can neither disturb the debtor for the sum, nor oblige the former to pay it. He must either pay the first debt, (*memboolattee*, consolidate) or let his claim lie over till the debtor finds means to discharge it.
- “ Interest of money has hitherto been three *fanams* per dollar per month, or one hundred and fifty per cent. per annum. It is now reduced to one *fanam*, or fifty per cent. per annum, and no person is to receive more, under penalty of fine according to the circumstances of the case.
- “ No more than double the principal can in any case be recovered at law. A person lending money at interest, and letting it lie over beyond two years, loses the surplus.
- “ No pepper planter to be taken *mengceering*, under penalty of forty dollars.
- “ A planter in debt may engage in any work for hire that does not interfere with the care of his garden, but must on no account *mengceering*, even though his creditor offers to become answerable for the care of his garden.
- “ If a debtor *mengceering* absconds from his master without leave of absence, he is liable to an increase of debt, at the rate of three *fanams* per

per day. Females have been hitherto charged *fix fanams*, but are now put upon a footing the same as the men.

“ If a debtor *mengceering*, without security, runs away, his debt is liable to be doubled, if he is absent above a week.

“ If a man takes a person *mengceering*, without security for the debt, should the debtor die in that predicament, the creditor loses his money, having no claim on the relations for it.

“ If a person takes up money, under promise of *mengceering* at a certain period, should he not perform his agreement, he must pay interest for the money, at one fanam per dollar per month.

“ If a person, security for another, is obliged to pay the debt, he is entitled to demand double from the debtor : but this claim to be moderated according to circumstances.

“ If a person sues for a debt which is denied, the *onus probandi* lies with the plaintiff. If he fails in proof, the defendant, on making oath to the justice of his denial, shall be acquitted.

“ If a debtor taking care of a pepper garden, or one that gives half produce to his creditor (*ba-bla*), neglects it, the person in whose debt he is, must hire a man to do the necessary work ; and the hire so paid shall be added to the debt. Previous notice shall however be given to the debtor, that he may, if he pleases, avoid the payment of the hire, by doing the work himself.

“ If a person's slave, or debtor *mengceering*, be carried off, and sold beyond the hills, the offender is liable to the bangoon, if a debtor, or to his price, if a slave. Should the person be recovered, the offender is liable to a fine of forty dollars, of which the person that recovers him has half, and the owner, or creditor, the remainder. If the offender be not secured, the reward shall be only five dollars to the person that brings the slave, and three dollars, the debtor, if on this side the hills ; if from beyond the hills, the reward is doubled.

“ MARRIAGE

" MARRIAGE.

" The modes of marriage prevailing hitherto, have been principally by *joojoor*, or *ambel ana*; the Malay *semundo* being little used. The obvious ill consequences of the two former, from the debt or slavery they entailed upon the man that married, and the endless lawsuits that they gave rise to, have at length induced the chiefs to concur in their being, as far as possible, laid aside; adopting in lieu of them, the *semundo malayo*, or *maredeeco*; which they now strongly recommend to their dependants, as free from the incumbrances of the other modes, and tending, by facilitating marriage, and the consequent increase of population, to promote the welfare of their country. Unwilling however to abolish arbitrarily a favorite custom of their ancestors, marriage by *joojoor* is still permitted to take place, but under such restrictions as will, it is hoped, effectually counteract its hitherto pernicious consequences. Marriage by *ambel ana*, which rendered a man and his descendants the property of the family he married into, is now prohibited, and none permitted for the future, but by *semundo*, or *joojoor* subject to the following regulations:

Laws regarding Marriage.

" The *joojoor* of a virgin (*gaddees*) has been hitherto one hundred and twenty dollars: the addat annexed to it, *toolis rangeel*, fifteen dollars; *oopa daoun coda*, six dollars, and *tallee koolo*, five dollars:

" The *joojoor* of a widow, eighty dollars, without the addat; unless her children by the former marriage went with her, in which case the *joojoor gaddees* was paid in full.

" It is now determined that on a man's giving his daughter in marriage, by *joojoor*, for the future, there shall, in lieu of the above, be fixed a sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty dollars, to be in full for *joojoor* and all addat whatever. That this sum shall, when the marriage takes place, be paid upon the spot; that if credit is given for the whole or any part, it shall not be recoverable by course of law; and as the sum includes the *tallee koolo*, or bond of relationship, the wife thereby becomes the absolute property of the husband. The marriage by *joojoor* being thus rendered equivalent to actual sale

sale, and the difficulty enhanced by the necessity of paying the full price upon the spot, it is probable that the custom will in a great measure cease, and though not positively, be virtually abolished. Nor can a lawsuit follow from any future *joojoor*.

“ The *addat*, or custom, of the *semundo malayo* or *maredeeko*, to be paid by the husband to the wife's family upon the marriage taking place, is fixed at twenty dollars and a buffalo, for such as can afford it; and at ten dollars and a goat, for the poorer class of people.

“ Whatever may be acquired by either party during the subsistence of the marriage, becomes joint property, and they are jointly liable to debts incurred, if by mutual consent. Should either contract debts without the knowledge and consent of the other, the party that contracts, must alone bear them, in case of a divorce.

“ If either party insists upon, or both agree in it, a divorce must follow. No other power can separate them. The effects, debts, and credits in all cases to be equally divided. If the man insists upon the divorce, he pays a *charro* of twenty dollars to the wife's family, if he obtained her a virgin; if a widow, ten dollars. If the woman insists on the divorce, no *charro* is to be paid. If both agree in it, the man pays half the *charro*.

“ If a man married by *semundo* dies—Vide “Inheritance.”

“ If a man carries off a woman with her consent, and is willing either to pay her price at once by *joojoor*, or marry her by *semundo*, as the father or relations please, they cannot reclaim the woman, and the marriage takes place.

“ If a man carries off a girl under age, (which is determined by her not having her ears bored, and teeth filed—*booloom betenday, bedabong*) though with her own consent, he pays, exclusive of the *addat joojoor*, or *semundo*, twenty dollars, if she be the daughter of a *pambarab*; and ten dollars for the daughter of any other, whether the marriage takes place or not.

“ If

- " If a *reesow*, or person without property and character, carries off a woman (though with her own consent) and can neither pay the *joojoor*, nor *addat semundo*, the marriage shall not take place, but the man be fined five dollars and a goat for misdemeanor. If she be under age, his fine ten dollars and a goat.
- " If a man has but one daughter, whom to keep her near him, he wishes to give in marriage by *semundo*; should a man carry her off, he shall not be allowed to keep her by *joojoor*, though he offer the money upon the spot. If he refuses to marry her by *semundo*, no marriage takes place, and he incurs a fine to the father of ten dollars and a goat.
- " If a man carries off a woman under pretence of marriage, he must lodge her immediately with some reputable family. If he carries her elsewhere, for a single night, he incurs a fine of fifty dollars, payable to her parents or relations.
- " If a man carries off a virgin against her inclination (*me-oollee*) he incurs a fine of twenty dollars and a buffalo: if a widow, ten dollars and a goat, and the marriage does not take place. If he commits a rape, and the parents do not chuse to give her to him in marriage, he incurs a fine of twenty dollars.
- " The *addat seebaye*, or custom of giving one woman in exchange for another taken in marriage, being a modification of the *joojoor*, is still admitted of; but if the one be not deemed an equivalent for the other, the necessary compensation (as the *pangalappang*, for nonage) must be paid upon the spot, or it is not recoverable by course of law. If a virgin is carried off (*te-larree gaddées*) and another is given in exchange for her, by *addat seebaye*, twelve dollars must be paid with the latter, as *addat ka-sala*.
- " A man married by *ambel ana*, may redeem himself and family, on payment of the *joojoor* and *addat* of a virgin beforementioned.
- " The *charre* of a *joojoor* marriage is twenty five dollars. If the *joojoor* be not yet paid in full, and the man insists on a divorce, he receives

back what he has paid, less twenty five dollars. If the woman insists, no *charro* can be claimed by her relations. If the *tallee hooko* is *pootees* (broken) the wife is the husband's property, and he may sell her if he pleases.

"If a man compels a female debtor of his to cohabit with him, her debt, if the fact be proved, is thereby discharged, if forty dollars and upwards: if under forty, the debt is cleared, and he pays the difference. If she accuses her master, falsely of this offence, her debt is doubled. If he cohabits with her by her consent, her parents may compel him to marry her, either by *joojeor*, or *semundo*, as they please.

"If an unmarried woman proves with child, the man against whom the fact is proved, must marry her; and they pay to the proatteens a joint fine of twenty dollars and a buffalo. This fine, if the parties agree to it, may be levied in the country by the neighbouring proatteens (without bringing it before the regular court.)

"If a woman proves with child by a relation within the prohibited degrees, they pay to the proatteens a joint fine of twice fifty dollars, and two buffaloes; (*boocum due aucoop*).

"A marriage must not take place between relations, within the third degree, or *toongal naynay*. But there are exceptions for the descendants of females, who passing into other families become as strangers. Of two brothers, the children may not intermarry. A sister's son may marry a brother's daughter; but a brother's son may not marry a sister's daughter.

"If relations within the prohibited degrees intermarry, they incur a fine of twice fifty dollars and two buffaloes, and the marriage is not valid.

"On the death of a man married by *joojeor* or purchase, any of his brothers, the eldest in preference, if he pleases, may succeed to his bed. If no brother chuses it, they may give the woman in marriage to any relation on the father's side, without *addas*; the person who marries her replacing the deceased (*wangaballoo*). If no relation takes her

her, and she is given in marriage to a stranger, he may be either adopted into the family, to replace the deceased, without *addat*, or he may pay her *joojoor*, or take her by *semundo*, as her relations please.

- “ If a person lies with a man's wife, by force, he is deserving of death, but may redeem his head by payment of the *bangoon*, eighty dollars, to be divided between the husband and proattees.
- “ If a man surprizes his wife in the act of adultery, he may put both man and woman to death upon the spot, without being liable to any *bangoon*. If he kills the man and spares his wife, he must redeem her life, by payment of fifty dollars to the proattees. If the husband spares the offender, or has only information of the fact from other persons, he may not afterwards kill him, but has his remedy at law, the fine for adultery being fifty dollars, to be divided between the husband and the proattees. If he divorces his wife on this account, he pays no *charro*.
- “ If a younger sister be first married, the husband pays six dollars, *addat pelalloo*, for passing over the elder.

“ G A M I N G .

- “ All gaming, except cock-fighting at stated periods, is absolutely prohibited. The fine for each offence is fifty dollars. The person in whose house it is carried on, if with his knowledge, is equally liable to the fine, with the gamesters. A proatteen knowing of gaming in his doosoon, and concealing it, incurs a fine of twenty dollars. One half of the fines go to the informer ; the other to the Company, to be distributed among the industrious planters, at the yearly payment of the customs.

Law respecting
gaming.

“ O P I U M F A R M .

- “ The fine for retailing of opium by any other than the farmer, is fifty dollars for each offence : one half to the farmer, and the other to the informer.

Opium.

Executive
power.

" The executive power for enforcing obedience to these laws and customs, and for preserving the peace of the country, is, with the concurrence of the pangeran and proatteens, vested in the Company's Resident.

" Done at Laye, in the month Rabioel-Achir, in the year of Hegira 1193, answering to April 1779.

JOHN MARSDEN, Resident."

Remarks

Remarks on, and elucidation of the various laws and customs—Modes of Pleading—Nature of Evidence—Oaths—Inheritance—Outlawry—Theft—Murder, and compensation for it—Account of a Feud—Debts—Slavery.

THE foregoing system of the *addat*, or customs of the country, being digested for the use of the natives, or of persons well acquainted with their manners in general, and being designed, not for an illustration of the customs, but simply as a standard of right, the fewest and simplest terms possible have been made use of, and many parts must necessarily be obscure to the bulk of readers. I shall therefore revert to those particulars that may require explanation, and endeavor to throw a light upon the spirit and operation of such of their laws especially, as seem most to clash with our ideas of distributive justice. This comment is the more requisite, as it appears that some of their regulations, which were judged to be inconsistent with the prosperity of the people, were altered and amended, through the more enlightened reason of the gentleman who acted as the representative of the English company. I must endeavor to recall the idea of the original institutions.

Remarks on the foregoing laws.

The plaintiff and defendant usually plead their own cause, but if circumstances render them unequal to it, they are allowed to *pinjam mooloot* (borrow a mouth). Their advocate may be a proatteen, or any other person indifferently; nor is there any stated compensation for the assistance, though, if the cause be gained, a gratuity is generally given, and too apt to be rapaciously exacted by the proattees from their clients, when their conduct is not attentively watched. The proatteen also who is security for the damages, receives privately some consideration; but none is openly allowed of.

Mode of pleading.

Evidence is used among these people in a manner very different from the forms of our courts of justice. They never admit it on both sides of the

Evidence.

the

the question ; nor does the witness first make a general oath to speak the truth, and nothing but the truth. When a fact is to be established, either on the part of the plaintiff, or of the defendant, he is asked if he can produce any evidence to the truth of what he asserts. On answering in the affirmative, he is directed to mention the person. This witness must not be a relation, a party concerned, nor even belong to the same doofoon. He must be a responsible man, having a family and a determinate place of residence. Thus qualified, his evidence may be admitted. The fact to be proved is mentioned to him before he is sworn. If he confirms the assertion, it remains for him and the party concerned, to make oath to the truth of it ; and thus the fact is established. They have a settled rule in respect to the party that is to produce evidence. For instance ; A. sues B. for a debt : B. denies the debt : A. is now to bring evidence to the debt, or on failure thereof, it remains with B. to clear himself of the debt, by swearing himself not indebted. Had B. acknowledged that such a debt had formerly subsisted, but was since paid, it would be incumbent on B. to prove the payment by evidence, or on failure it would rest with A. to confirm the debt's being still due, by his oath. This is an invariable mode, observed in all cases of property.

Oaths.

As their manner of giving evidence differs from ours, so also does the nature of an oath among them differ from our idea of it. In many cases it is requisite that they should swear to what it is not possible in the nature of things, they should know to be true. A. sues B. for a debt due from the father or grandfather of B. to the father or grandfather of A. The original parties are dead, and no witness of the transaction survives. How is the matter to be decided ? It remains with B. to make oath, that his father or grandfather never was indebted to those of A. ; or that if he was indebted, the debt had been paid. This, among us, would be esteemed a very strange method of deciding causes ; but among these people, something of the kind is absolutely necessary. As they have no sort of written accounts, nor any thing like records or registers among them, it would be utterly impossible for the plaintiff to establish the debt, by a positive proof, in a multitude of cases ; and was the suit

so be dismissed at once, as with us, for want of such proof, numbers of innocent persons would lose the debts really due to them, through the knavery of the persons indebted, who would scarce ever fail to deny a debt. On the side of the defendant again; if he was not permitted to clear himself of the debt by oath, but that it rested with the plaintiff only, to establish the fact by his single oath, there would be a set of unprincipled fellows daily swearing debts against persons who never were indebted to any of their generation. In such suits, and there are many of them, it requires no small discernment to discover, by the attendant circumstances, where the truth lies; but this may be done, in most instances, by a person who is used to their manners, and has a personal knowledge of the parties concerned. But what they mean by their oath, in those cases, where it is impossible they should be acquainted with the facts they design to prove, is no more than this; that they are so convinced of the truth of the matter, as to be willing to subject themselves to the *pajoo soompab* (destructive consequences of perjury) if what they assert is believed by them to be false. The form of words used is nearly as follows. "If what I now declare, namely" (here the fact is recited) "is truly and really so, may I be freed and clear from my oath: if what I assert is wittingly false, may my oath be the cause of my destruction." But it may be easily supposed, that where the punishment for a false oath rests altogether with the invisible powers, where no direct infamy, no corporal punishment is annexed to the perjury, there cannot be wanting many, who would *maccan soompab* (swallow on oath), and willingly incur the *pajoo*, in order to acquire a little of their neighbour's cash.

Although an oath, as being an appeal to the superior powers, is supposed to come within their cognizance alone, and that it is contrary to the spirit of the customs of these people, to punish by human means, a perjury, even if it were clearly detected; yet so far prevalent is the opinion of their interposition in human affairs, that it is very seldom any man of substance, or who has a family that he fears may suffer by it, will venture

to forswear himself: nor are there wanting apparent examples to confirm them in this notion. Any accident that happens to a man, who has been known to take a false oath, or to his children or grand children, is carefully recorded in memory, and attributed to this sole cause. *Dupatty Goonong Ceylong* and his family, have afforded an instance that is often quoted among the Rejangs, and has evidently had great weight. It was notorious, that he had about the year 1770, taken in the most solemn manner, a false oath. He had at that time five sons grown up to manhood. One of them, soon after, in a scuffle with some *buggesses* (country soldiers) was wounded, and died. The Dupatty, the next year, lost his life in the issue of a disturbance he had raised in the district. Two of the sons died afterwards, within a week of each other. *Mas Caddab*, the fourth, is blind; and *Treman*, the fifth, lame. All this is attributed to, and firmly believed to be the consequence of the father's perjury.

Collateral
Oaths.

In administering an oath, if the matter litigated respects the property of the grandfather, all the collateral branches of the family descended from him, are understood to be included in its operation: if the father's effects only are concerned, or the transaction happened in his life time, his descendants are included: if the affair regards only the present parties, and originated with them, they and their immediate descendants only, are comprehended in the consequences of the oath. These oaths they accordingly call *soompab seping addo naynay*, or *seping addo bapa*; and if any single one of these descendants refuses to join in the oath, it vitiates the whole; that is, it has the same effect, as if the party himself refused to swear; a case that not unfrequently occurs. It may be observed that the spirit of this custom tends to the requiring a weight of evidence, and an increase of the importance of the oath, in proportion as the distance of time renders the fact to be established less capable of proof in the ordinary way.

Sometimes the difficulty of the case alone, will induce the court to insist on administering the oath to the relations of the parties, although they are nowise concerned in the transaction. I recollect an instance where

where three people were prosecuted for a theft. There was no positive proof against them, yet the circumstances were so strong, that it appeared proper to put them to the test of one of these collateral oaths. They were all willing, and two of them swore. When it came to the turn of the third, he could not persuade his relations to join with him, and he was accordingly brought in for the whole amount of the goods stolen, and penalties annexed.

These customs bear a strong resemblance to the rules of proof established among our ancestors the Anglo Saxons, who were likewise obliged, in the case of oaths taken for the purpose of exculpation, to produce a certain number of compurgators; but as these might be any indifferent persons, who would take upon them to bear testimony to the truth of what their neighbour swore, from an opinion of his veracity, there seems to be more refinement, and more knowledge of human nature in the Sumatran practice. The idea of devoting to destruction, by a wilful perjury, not himself only, but all, even the remotest branches of a family which constitutes his greatest pride, and of which the deceased heads are regarded with the veneration that was paid to the *dii lares* of the ancients, has doubtless restrained many a man from taking a false oath, who, without much compunction, would suffer thirty or an hundred compurgators of the former description, to take their chance of that fate. Their strongest prejudices are here converted to the most beneficial purposes.

The place of greatest solemnity for administering an oath, is the *srammat* or burying ground of their ancestors, and several superstitious ceremonies are observed on the occasion. The people near the sea coast in general, by long intercourse with the Malays, have an idea of the *Korāan* (Al-coran), and usually employ this in swearing, which the priests do not fail to make them pay for; but the inland people keep, laid up in their houses, certain old reliques, called in Rejang, *pesakko*, and in Passum-mah, *saBean*, which they produce when an oath is to be taken. The person who has lost his cause, and with whom it commonly lies to bind

Ceremony of
taking an oath.

his adversary by an oath, often defires two or three days time, to get ready his swearing apparatus (*soompatan*). Some of these are looked upon as more sacred, and of greater efficacy than others. They consist of an old rusty *creese*, a broken gun barrel, or any ancient trumpery, to which chance or caprice has annexed an idea of extraordinary virtue. These they generally dip in water, which the person who swears, drinks off, after having pronounced the form of words before mentioned.* The *pangeran* of *Soogey-lamo* has by him certain copper bullets, which had been steeped in water, drunk by the *Soongey-etam* chiefs, when they bound themselves never to molest his districts: which they have only done since, as often as they could venture it with safety, from the relaxation of our government. But these were political oaths. The most ordinary *soompatan* is a *creese*, and on the blade of this, they sometimes drop lime juice, which occasions a stain on the lips of the person performing the ceremony; a circumstance that may not improbably be supposed to make an impression on a weak and guilty mind. Such would fancy that the external stain conveyed to the beholders, an image of the internal. At *Manna* the *soompatan* most respected is a gun barrel. When produced to be sworn on, it is carried to the spot in state, under an umbrella, and wrapt in silk. This parade has an advantageous effect, by influencing the mind of the party, with an high idea of the importance and solemnity of the business. In England, the familiarity of the object, and the summary method of administering oaths, are well known to diminish from their weight, and to render them too often nugatory. They sometimes swear by the earth, laying their hands upon it, and wishing that it may never produce aught for their nourishment, if they speak falsely. In all these ceremonies, they burn on the spot a little gum benjamin; "*Et acerra thuris plena, positaque carbo in cespite vivo.*"

It is a striking circumstance, that practices which boast so little of reason in their foundation; which are in fact so whimsical and childish,

* The form of taking an oath among the people of *Madagascar*, very nearly resembles the ceremonies used by the *Sumatrans*. There is a strong similarity in the articles they swear on, and in the circumstance of their drinking the consecrated water.

should

should yet be common to nations, the most remote in situation, climate, language, complexion, character, and every thing that can distinguish one race of people from another. Formed of like materials, and furnished with like original sentiments, the uncivilized tribes of Europe and of India, trembled from the same apprehensions, excited by similar ideas, at a time when they were ignorant, or even denied the possibility of each others existence. Mutual wrong, and animosity, attended with disputes and accusations, are not by nature confined to either description of people. Each, in doubtful litigations, might seek to prove their innocence, by braving, on the justice of their cause, those objects which inspired amongst their countrymen, the greatest terror. The Sumatran, impressed with an idea of invisible powers, but not of his own immortality, regards with awe the supposed instruments of their agency, and swears on *creeses*, bullets and gun barrels; weapons of personal destruction. The German Christian of the seventh century, more indifferent to the perils of this life, but not less superstitious, swore on bits of rotten wood, and rusty nails, which he was taught to revere, as possessing efficacy to secure him from eternal perdition.

When a man dies, his effects, in common course, descend to his male children in equal shares; but if one among them is remarkable for his abilities above the rest, though not the eldest, he usually obtains the largest proportion, and becomes the head of the *toongooan* or house; the others voluntarily yielding him the superiority. A *pangeran* of *Manna* left several children: none of them succeeded to the title, but a name of distinction was given to one of the younger, who was looked upon as chief of the family, after the father's decease. Upon asking the eldest, how it happened that the name of distinction passed over him, and was conferred on his younger brother, he answered with great naiveté, "because I am accounted weak and silly." If no male children are left, and a daughter only remains, they contrive to get her married by the mode of *ambel ana*, and thus the *toongooan* of the father continues. An equal distribution of property among children is more natural, and conformable to justice, than vesting the whole in the eldest son, as prevails

Inheritance.

throughout most part of Europe ; but where wealth consists in landed estate, the latter mode, beside favoring the pride of family, is attended with fewest inconveniences. The property of the Sumatrans being personal merely, this reason does not operate with them. Land is so abundant in proportion to the population, that they scarcely consider it as the subject of right, any more than the elements of air and water ; excepting so far as in speculation the prince lays claim to the whole. The ground, however, on which a man plants or builds, with the consent of his neighbours, becomes a species of nominal property, and is transferable ; but as it costs him nothing, beside his labor, it is only the produce which is esteemed of value, and the compensation he receives is for this alone. A temporary usufruct is accordingly all that they attend to, and the price, in case of sale, is generally ascertained by the coconut, doorean, and other fruit trees, that have been planted on it ; the buildings being for the most part but little durable. Whilst any of those subsist, the descendants of the planter may claim the ground, though it has been for years abandoned. If they are cut down he may recover damages, but if they have disappeared in the course of nature, the land reverts to the public.

They have a custom of keeping by them a sum of money, as a resource against extremity of distress, and which common exigencies do not call forth. This is a refined antidote against despair, because, whilst it remains possible to avoid encroaching on that treasure, their affairs are not at the worst, and the idea of the little hoard serves to buoy up their spirits, and encourage them to struggle with wretchedness. It usually therefore continues inviolate, and descends to the heir, or is lost to him by the sudden exit of the parent. From their apprehension of dishonesty, and insecurity of their houses, their money is for the most part concealed in the ground, the cavity of an old beam, or other secret place ; and a man, on his death bed, has commonly some important discovery of this nature to make to his assembled relations.

The

The practice of outlawing (*leppay je sooray*) an individual of a family by the head of it, has its foundation in the custom which obliges all the branches to be responsible for the debts contracted by any one of the kindred. When an extravagant and unprincipled spendthrift is running a career that appears likely to involve his family in ruinous consequences, they have the right of dissolving the connexion, and clearing themselves of further responsibility, by this public act, which, as the writ expresses it, sends forth the out cast, as a deer into the woods, no longer to be considered as enjoying the privileges of society. This character is what they term *reesow*, though it is sometimes applied to persons not absolutely outlawed, but of debauched and irregular manners. Outlawry.

In the Saxon law we find a strong resemblance to this custom; the kindred of a murderer being exempt from the feud, if they abandoned him to his fate. They bound themselves in this case neither to converse with him, or to furnish him with meat or other necessaries. This is precisely the Sumatran outlawry, in which it is always particularly specified (beside what relates to common debts) that if the outlaw kills a person, the relations shall not pay the compensation, nor claim it if he is killed. But the writ must have been issued before the event, and they cannot free themselves by a subsequent process, as it would seem the Saxons might. If an outlaw commits murder, the friends of the deceased may take personal revenge on him, and are not liable to be called to an account for it; but if such be killed, otherwise than in satisfaction for murder, although his family have no claim, the prince of the country is entitled to a certain compensation, all outlaws being nominally his property, like other wild animals.

In cases of theft, the swearing a robbery against a person suspected is of no effect, and justly, for were it otherwise, nothing would be more common than the prosecution of innocent persons. The proper proofs are either, seizure of the person in the fact, before witnesses, or discovery of the goods stolen, in possession of one who can give no satisfactory account how he came by them. As it frequently happens that a man finds part Proof in cases of Theft.
only

only of what he had lost, it remains with him, when the robbery is proved, to ascertain the whole amount, by oath, which in that point is held sufficient.

Compensation
for Murder.

It seems strange to those who are accustomed to the severity of penal laws, which in most instances inflict punishment exceeding by many degrees the offence, how a society can exist, in which the greatest of all crimes is, agreeably to established custom, expiated by the payment of a certain sum of money; a sum not proportioned to the rank and ability of the murderer, nor to the premeditation, or other aggravating circumstances of the fact, but regulated only by the quality of the person murdered. The practice had doubtless its source in the imbecility of government, which being unable to enforce the law of retaliation, the most obvious rule of punishment, had recourse to a milder scheme of retribution, as being preferable to absolute indemnity. The latter it was competent to carry into execution, because the guilty persons readily submit to a penalty, which effectually relieves them from the burthen of anxiety for the consequences of their action. Instances occur in the history of all states, particularly those which suffer from internal weakness, of iniquities going unpunished, owing to the rigor of the pains denounced against them by the law, which defeats its own purpose. The original mode of avenging a murder, was probably by the arm of the person nearest in consanguinity, or friendship, to the deceased; but this was evidently destructive of the public tranquillity, because that the wrong became progressive, each act of satisfaction, or justice as it was called, being the source of a new revenge, till the feud became general in the community; and some method would naturally be suggested to put a stop to such confusion. The most direct step is to vest in the magistrate or the law, the rights of the injured party, and to arm them with a vindictive power; which principle, the policy of more civilized societies has refined to that of making examples *in terrorem*, with a view of preventing future, not of revenging past crimes. But this requires a firmness of authority to which the Sumatran governments are strangers. They are without coercive power, and the submission of the people, is
little

little other than voluntary ; especially of the men of influence, who are held in subjection rather by the sense of general utility, planted in the breast of mankind ; attachment to their family and connexions ; and veneration for the spot in which their ancestors were interred, than by the apprehension of any superior authority. These considerations, however, they would readily forego, renounce their fealty, and quit their country, if in any case they were in danger of paying with life, the forfeit of their crimes : to lesser punishments those ties induce them to submit ; and to strengthen this hold, their customs wisely enjoin, that every the remotest branch of the family, shall be responsible for the payment of their judgment, and other debts ; and in cases of murder, the *bangoon*, or compensation, may be levied on the inhabitants of the village the culprit belonged to, if it happen that neither he, nor any of his relations can be found.

The equality of punishment, which allows to the rich ~~man~~ the faculty of committing, with small inconvenience, crimes that bring utter destruction on the poor man, and his family, and which is in fact the greatest inequality, originates certainly from the interested design of those through whose influence the regulation came to be adopted. Its view was to establish a subordination of persons. In Europe, the absolute distinction between rich and poor, though too sensibly felt, is not insisted upon in speculation, but rather denied or explained away in general reasoning. Among the Sumatrans it is coolly acknowledged, and a man without property, family, or connexions, never, in the partiality of self love, considers his own life as being of equal value with that of a man of substance. A maxim, though not the practice, of their law, says, " that he who is able to pay the bangoon for murder, must satisfy the relations of the deceased ; he who is unable, must suffer death." But the avarice of the relations prefers selling the body of the delinquent for what his slavery will fetch them, to the satisfaction of seeing the murder revenged by the public execution of a culprit of that mean description. Capital punishments are therefore almost totally out of use among them ; and it is only *par la loi du plus fort*, that the Europeans take

take the liberty of hanging a notorious criminal, now and then; whom, however, their own chiefs always condemn, and formally sentence.

Corporal punishment.

Corporal punishment of any kind, is rare. The chain, and a sort of stocks, made of the *penang* tree, are adopted from us; the word "*pissoog*," now commonly used to denote the latter, originally signifying, and being still frequently applied to confinement in general. A kind of cage made use of in the country, is probably their own invention. "How do you secure a prisoner, (a man was asked) without employing a chain or our stocks?" "We pen him up, said he, as we would a bear." The cage is made of bamboos laid horizontally, in a square, piled alternately, secured by timbers at the corners, and strongly covered in at top. To lead a runaway, they fasten a rattan round his neck, and pass it through a bamboo somewhat longer than his arms, which are made fast to it at their full extent. If the offender is of a desperate character, they bind him hands and feet, and sling him on a pole. When they would convey a person, from accident or otherwise unable to walk, they make a palanquin by splitting a large bamboo near the middle of its length, where they contrive to keep it open, so that the cavity forms a bed; the ends being preserved whole, to rest upon their shoulders.

The custom of exacting the *bangoon* for murder, seems only designed with a view of making a compensation to the injured family, and not of punishing the offender. The word signifies "awaking" or "raising up," and the deceased is supposed to be replaced, or raised again to his family, in the payment of a sum proportioned to his rank, or equivalent to his or her personal value. The price of a female slave is generally more than that of a male, and therefore, I heard a chief say, is the *bangoon* of a woman more than that of a man. It is upon this principle that their laws take no cognizance of the distinction between a wilful murder, and what we term manslaughter. The loss is the same to the family, and therefore the compensations are alike. A *dupatty* of *Laye*, in an ill hour, stepped unwarily across the mouth of a cannon, at the instant

it was firing for a salute, and was killed by the explosion ; upon which his relations immediately sued the serjeant of the country guard, who applied the match, for the recovery of the bangoon ; but they were cast, and upon these grounds ; that the dupatty was instrumental in his own death ; and that the Company's servants being amenable to other laws for their crimes, were not, by established custom, subject to the bangoon, or other penalties inflicted by the native chiefs, for accidents resulting from the execution of their duty. The *tippong boomee*, expiation, or purification of the earth from the stain it has received, was however gratuitously paid. No plea was set up, that the action was unpremeditated, and the event chance medley.

The amount of the *bangoon*, in the countries southward of *Rejang*, is fixt at eighty eight dollars and eight fanams ; and the *tippong boomee*, called there *bassing loora*, is twenty eight dollars ; beside finding a buffalo and rice. There is also the *palantan* or *beeo*, of fourteen dollars, paid both by the prosecutor and prosecuted, where there have been killed or wounded on both sides ; but if a man kills another who makes no resistance, the whole *palantan*, or twenty-eight dollars, is paid by the murderer.

The introduction of this custom is beyond the extent of Sumatrap tradition, and has no connexion with, or dependance on Mahometanism, being established amongst the most inland people from time immemorial. In early ages it was by no means confined to that part of the world. The *bangoon* is perfectly the same as the compensation for murder in the rude institutions of our Saxon ancestors, and other northern nations. It is the *eric* of Ireland, and the *apoinon* of the Greeks. In the compartments of the shield of Achilles, Homer describes the adjudgment of a fine for homicide. It would seem then to be a natural step in the advances from anarchy to settled government, and that it can only take place in such societies as have already a strong idea of the value of personal property ; who esteem its possession of the next importance to that of life, and place

it in competition with the strongest passion that seizes the human soul.

The compensation is so regularly established among the Sumatrans, that any other satisfaction is seldom demanded. In the first heat of resentment, retaliation is sometimes attempted, but the spirit soon evaporates, and application is usually made, upon the immediate discovery of the fact, to the chiefs of the country, for the exertion of their influence, to oblige the criminal to pay the bangoon. His death is then not thought of, unless he is unable, and his family unwilling, to raise the established sum. Instances, it is true, occur, in which the prosecutor knowing the European law in such case, will, from motives of revenge, urge to the Resident the propriety of executing the offender, rather than receive the bangoon; but if the latter is ready to pay it, it is contrary to their laws to proceed further. The degree of satisfaction that attends the payment of the bangoon, is generally considered as absolute to the parties concerned: they receive it as full compensation, and pretend to no farther claim upon the murderer and his family. Slight provocations however have been sometimes known to renew the feud, and there are not wanting instances of a son's revenging his father's murder, and willingly refunding the bangoon. When, in an affray, there happen to be several persons killed on both sides, the business of justice is only to state the reciprocal losses, in the form of an account current, and order the balance to be discharged, if the numbers be unequal. The following is a relation of the circumstances of one of these bloody feuds, which happened whilst I was on the island; but which become every year more rare, where the influence of our government extends.

Account of a
feud.

Raddoen Seeban was the head of a tribe in the district of *Manna*, of which *Pangeran Rajab Calippab* was the Calippab or official chief; though by the customs of the country he had no right of sovereignty over him. The *Pangeran's* not allowing him an adequate share of fines, and other advantages annexed to his rank, was the foundation of a jealousy and ill will between them, which an event that happened a few years

years since, raised to the highest pitch of family feud. *Leffoot*, a younger brother of the *Pangeran*, had a wife who was very handsome, and whom *Raddeen Seeban* had endeavored to procure, whilst a virgin, for his younger brother, who was in love with her : but the *pangeran* had contrived to circumvent him, and obtained the girl for *Leffoot*. However, it seems the lady herself had conceived a violent liking for the brother of *Raddeen Seeban*, who found means to enjoy her after she was married, or was violently suspected so to have done. The consequence was, that *Leffoot* killed him, to revenge the dishonor of his bed. Upon this the families were presently up in arms, but the English Resident interfering, preserved the peace of the country, and settled the affair agreeably to the customs of the place, by bangoon and fine. But this did not prove sufficient to extinguish the fury which raged in the hearts of *Raddeen Seeban's* family, whose relation was murdered. It only served to delay their revenge until a proper opportunity offered of gratifying it. The people of the country being called together on a particular occasion, the two inimical families were assembled, at the same time, in *Manna bazar*. Two younger brothers (they had been five in all) of *Raddeen Seeban*, going to the cockpit, saw *Raja Moodo* the next brother of the *pangeran*, and *Leffoot* his younger brother, in the open part of a house which they passed. They quickly returned, drew their creeses, and attacked the *pangeran's* brothers, calling to them, " if they were men, to defend themselves." The challenge was instantly accepted. *Leffoot*, the unfortunate husband, fell ; but the aggressors were both killed by *Raja Moodo*, who was himself much wounded. The affair was almost over before the scuffle was perceived. The bodies were lying on the ground, and *Raja Moodo* was supporting himself against a tree which stood near the spot, when *Raddeen Seeban*, who was in a house on the opposite side of the bazar at the time the affray happened, being made acquainted with the circumstances, came over the way, with his lance in his hand. He passed on the contrary side of the tree, and did not see *Raja Moodo*, but began to stab with his weapon the dead body of *Leffoot*, in excess of rage, on seeing the bloody remains of his two brothers. Just then, *Raja Moodo*, who was half dead, but had his creese in his hand, still unseen by *Raddeen Seeban*, crawled a step or two, and

thrust the creese into his side, saying "*Mattce caow*"—"die wretch!" *Raddeen Seeban* spoke not a word, but put his hand on the wound, and walked across to the house from whence he came, at the door of which he dropped down, and expired. Such was the catastrophe. *Raja Moodo* survived his wounds, but being much deformed by them, lives a melancholy example of the effects of these barbarous feuds.

Law respecting debts.

The law which renders all the members of a family reciprocally bound for the security of each others debts, forms a strong connexion among them, and occasions the elder branches to be particularly watchful of the conduct of those, for whose imprudence they must be answerable.

When a debtor is unable to pay what he owes, and has no relation or friends capable of doing it for him; or when the children of a deceased person do not find property enough to discharge the debts of their parent, they are forced to the state which is called *mengceering*: that is, they become a species of bondslaves to the creditor, who allows them subsistence, and cloathing, but does not appropriate the produce of their labor, to the diminution of their debt. Their condition is better than that of pure slavery, in this, that the creditor cannot strike them, and they can change their masters, by prevailing on another person to pay their debt, and accept of their labor on the same terms. Of course they may procure their liberty, if they can by any means procure a sum equal to their debt; whereas a slave, though possessing ever so large property, has not the right of purchasing his liberty. If however, the creditor shall demand formally the amount of his debt, from a person *mengceering*, at three several times, allowing a certain number of days between each demand, and the latter is not able to persuade any one to redeem him, he becomes, by the custom of the country, a pure slave; upon the creditor's giving notice to the chief, of the transaction. This is the resource he has against the laziness or untoward behavior of his debtor, who might, in the state of *mengceering*, be only a burthen to him. If the children of a deceased debtor are too young to be of service, the charge of their maintenance

tenance is added to the debt. This opens a door for many iniquitous practices, and it is in the rigorous, and frequently unjust exertion of these rights, which a creditor has over his debtor, that the chiefs are enabled to oppress the lower class of people, and which the English residents find it necessary to be most watchful to restrain them from abusing.

When a man of one district or country, has a debt owing to him from the inhabitant of a neighbouring country, which he cannot recover payment of, an usual resource is to seize on one or more of his children, and carry them off; which they call *andac*. The daughter of a *Rejang dupatty* was carried off in this manner by the *Laboon* people. Not hearing for some time from her father, she sent him cuttings of her hair and nails, by which she intimated a resolution of destroying herself, if not soon released.

The right of slavery is established in Sumatra, as it is throughout the east, and has been all over the world; yet but few instances occur of the country people actually having slaves, though they are common enough in the Malay, or sea port towns. Their domestics and laborers are either dependent relations, or the *orang mengeering* above described, who are emphatically styled debtors.* The simple manners of the people require that their servants should live, in a great measure, on a foot of equality with the rest of the family, which is inconsistent with the authority necessary to be maintained over slaves, who have no principle to restrain them but that of personal fear,† and know that their

Slavery

* The Malay terms, *orang berotang*, and *orang mengeering*, can only be rendered by the English word *debtor*, though they apply to persons in very different circumstances: the epithets of *solvent*, and *insolvent*, would give some idea of the distinction.

† I do not mean to assert, that all men in the condition of slaves are devoid of principle: I have experienced the contrary, and found in them affection and strict honesty: but that there does not result from their situation, as slaves, any principle of moral rectitude; whereas every other condition of society has annexed to it, ideas of duty and mutual obligation, arising from a sense of general utility. That sublime species of morality derived from the injunctions of religion, it is almost universally their fate to be likewise strangers to; because slavery is found inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel, not merely as inculcating philanthropy, but inspiring a principle of equality amongst mankind.

civil

civil condition cannot be altered for the worse. There is this advantage also, that when a debtor absconds, they have recourse to his relations for the amount of his debt, who, if unable to pay it, must *mengeering* in his room; whereas, when a slave makes his escape, the law can give no redress, and his value is lost to the owner. These people, moreover, are from habit, backward to strike, and the state of slavery unhappily requires the frequent infliction of punishment in that mode. A slave cannot possess, independently, any property; yet it rarely happens that a master is found mean and sordid enough, to despoil them of the fruits of their industry; and their liberty is generally granted them, when in a condition to purchase it, though they cannot demand it of right. It is nothing uncommon for those belonging to the Europeans, to possess slaves of their own, and to acquire considerable substance. Their condition is here, for the most part, less unhappy than that of persons in other situations of life. I am far from wishing to diminish the horror that should ever accompany the general idea of this state, which I am convinced is not necessary among mankind; but I cannot help remarking, as an extraordinary fact, that if there is one class of people eminently happy above all others upon earth, it is the body of *Caffres*, or negro slaves belonging to the India Company at *Bencoolen*. They are well clothed and fed, and supplied with a proper allowance of liquor; their work is by no means severe; the persons appointed as their immediate overseers, are chosen, for their merit, from amongst themselves; they have no occasion of care or anxiety for the past or future, and are naturally of a lively and open temper. The contemplation of the effects which such advantages produce, must afford the highest gratification to a benevolent mind. They are seen perpetually laughing or singing, and since the period they were first carried thither, from different parts of *Africa* and *Madagascar*, to the present hour, not so much as the rumor of disturbance or discontent has ever been known to proceed from them. They hold the natives of the island in contempt, have a degree of antipathy towards them, and enjoy any mischief they can do them; and these in their turn regard the *Caffres* as devils half humanized.

The

The practice said to prevail elsewhere, of men selling themselves for slaves, is repugnant to the ideas of the Sumatrans, as it seems to reason. It is an absurdity to barter any thing valuable, much more civil existence, for a sum which, by the very act of receiving, becomes again the property of the buyer. Yet, if a man runs in debt, without a prospect of paying, he does virtually the same thing, and this, in cases of distress, is not uncommon; in order to relieve perhaps a beloved wife, or favorite child, from similar bondage. A man has even been known to apply in confidence to a friend, to sell him to a third person, concealing from the purchaser the nature of the transaction, till the money was appropriated.

Ignorant stragglers are often picked up in the country, by lawless knaves in power, and sold beyond the hills. These have sometimes procured their liberty again, and prosecuting their kidnappers, have recovered large damages. In the district of *Allas*, a custom prevails, by which, if a man has been sold to the hill people, however unfairly, he is restricted on his return, from associating with his countrymen, as their equal, unless he brings with him a sum of money, and pays a fine for his re-enfranchisement, to his *calippab* or chief. This regulation has taken its rise from an idea of contamination, among the people, and from avarice among the chiefs.

*Modes of Marriage, and customs relative thereto—Festivals—
Polygamy.*

Motives for influencing the people to alter some of their marriage customs.

BY much the greater number of the legal disputes, among these people, have their source in the intricacy attending their marriage contracts. In most uncivilized countries these matters are very simple, the dictates of nature being obeyed, or the calls of appetite satisfied, with little ceremony, or form of convention; but with the Sumatrans, the difficulties both precedent and subsequent, are increased to a degree unknown even in the most refined states. To remedy these inconveniences, which might be supposed to deter men from engaging in marriage, was the view of the Resident of *Laye*, beforementioned, who prevailed upon them to simplify their engagements, as the means of preventing litigation between families, and of increasing the population of the country. How far his liberal views will be answered, by having thus influenced the people to change their customs; whether they will not soon relapse into the ancient track; and whether, in fact, the cause that he supposes, did actually contribute to retard population, I shall not pretend to determine; but as the last is a point on which a difference of opinion prevails, I shall take the liberty of quoting here, the sentiments of another servant of the Company, who possesses an understanding highly enlightened.*

Reasons against this alteration.

“ This part of the island is in a low state of population, but it is an error to ascribe this to the mode of obtaining wives by purchase. The circumstance of children constituting part of the property of the parents, proves a most powerful incentive to matrimony, and there is not perhaps any country on the face of the earth, where marriage is more general than here, instances of persons of either sex passing their lives in a state of celibacy, being extremely rare. The necessity of purchasing does

* Mr. John Crisp.

not prove such an obstacle to matrimony as is supposed. Was it indeed true that every man was obliged to remain single, till he had accumulated, from the produce of his pepper garden, a sum adequate to the purchase of a wife, married pairs would truly be scarce. But the people have other resources; there are few families who are not in possession of some small substance; they breed goats and buffaloes, and in general keep in reserve some small sum for particular purposes. The purchase money of the daughters serves also to provide wives for the sons. Certain it is, that the fathers are rarely at a loss for money to procure them wives, so soon as they become marriageable. In the districts under my charge are about eight thousand inhabitants, among whom I do not conceive it would be possible to find ten instances of men of the age of thirty years unmarried. We must then seek for other causes of the paucity of inhabitants, and indeed they are sufficiently obvious; among these, we may reckon that the women are by nature unprolific, and cease gestation at an early age; that almost totally unskilled in the medical art, numbers fall victims to the endemic diseases of a climate, nearly as fatal to its indigenous inhabitants, as to the strangers who settle among them: to which we may add, that the indolence and inactivity of the natives, tend to relax and enervate the bodily frame, and to abridge the natural period of their lives."

The modes of marriage, according to the original institutions of these people, are by *joojoor*, by *ambel ana*, or by *femundo*. The *joojoor* is a certain sum of money, given by one man to another, as a consideration for the person of his daughter, whose situation, in this case, differs not much from that of a slave to the man she marries, and to his family. His absolute property in her depends however upon some nice circumstances. Beside the *batang joojoor* (or main sum), there are certain appendages or branches; one of which, the *tallee koaloo*, of five dollars, is usually, from motives of delicacy or friendship, left unpaid, and so long as that is the case, a relationship is understood to subsist between the two families, and the parents of the woman have a right to interfere on occasions of ill treatment: the husband is also liable to be fined for wounding her;

Modes of marriage.

with other limitations of absolute right. When that sum is finally paid, which seldom happens but in cases of violent quarrel, the *taller kooloo* (tie of relationship) is said to be *pootoes* (broken), and the woman becomes to all intents the slave of her lord. She has then no title to claim a divorce in any predicament; and he may sell her, making only the first offer to her relations. The other appendages, as already mentioned, are the *toolis tangeel*, the derivation of which I cannot satisfactorily trace; and the *oopa daom codo*, which is a consideration for the expence of the marriage feast, paid to the girl's parent, who provides it. But sometimes it is deposited at the wedding, when a distribution is made of it amongst the old people present. The words allude to the *leaf* in which the rice is served up. These branches are seldom paid or claimed, before the *de-tang* (stem) is defrayed, of which a large proportion, as fifty, eighty, and sometimes an hundred and four dollars, is laid down at the time of marriage; and until the first mentioned of these sums, at least, is produced, the man cannot take his wife home. In this case he commonly *mungeering joojoor*, continues a debtor with the family, till he can raise money sufficient to redeem himself; and after this, long credit is usually given for the remainder. Years often elapse, if the families continue on good terms, without the debt being demanded, particularly when an hundred and four dollars have been paid, unless distress obliges them to it. Sometimes it remains unadjusted to the second and third generation, and it is not uncommon to see a man suing for the *joojoor* of the sister of his grandfather. These debts constitute in fact the chief part of their substance, and a person is esteemed rich who has several of them due to him, for his daughters, sisters, aunts, and great aunts. Debts of this nature are looked upon as sacred, and are scarce ever lost. In *Passum-mab*, if the race of a man is extinct, and some of these remain unpaid, the doosoon or village to which the family belonged, must make it good to the creditor: but this is not insisted upon amongst the *Rejangs*.

In lieu of paying the *joojoor*, a barter transaction, called *feebaye*, sometimes takes place, where one *gaddees* (virgin) is given in exchange for another; and it is not unusual to borrow a girl for this purpose, from a friend

friend or relation, the borrower binding himself to replace her, or pay her joojoor when required. A man who has a son and daughter, gives the latter in exchange for a wife to the former. The person who receives her, disposes of her as his own child, or marries her himself. A brother will give his sister in exchange for a wife, or in default of such, procure a cousin for the purpose. If the girl given in exchange be under age, a certain allowance per annum is made, till she becomes marriageable. *Beguppoke* is a mode of marriage differing a little from the common joojoor, and probably only taking place, where a parent wants to get off a child laboring under some defect. A certain sum is in this case fixed, below the usual custom, which, when paid, is in full for her value, without any appendages. In other cases likewise, the joojoor is sometimes lessened, and sometimes increased, by mutual agreement; but on trials it is always estimated at an hundred and twenty dollars. If a wife dies soon after marriage, or at any time without children, the full joojoor cannot be claimed; it is reduced to eighty dollars: but should more than that have been laid down in the interim, there is no refunding. The joojoor of a widow, which is generally eighty dollars, without appendages, is again reduced upon a third marriage, allowances being made for depredation. A widow, being with child, cannot marry again till she is delivered, without incurring a penalty. In divorces it is the same. If there be no appearance of pregnancy, she must yet abstain from making another choice, during the period of three months and ten days.

When the relations and friends of the man go in form to the parents of the girl, to settle the terms of the marriage, they pay at that time, the *addat besafala*, or earnest, of six dollars generally; and these kill a goat or a few fowls to entertain them. It is usually some space of time (except in cases of *tellarree gaddees*, or elopement) after the payment of the *besafala*, before the wedding takes place; but, when the father has received that, he cannot give his daughter to any other person, without incurring a fine; which the young lady sometimes renders him liable to; for whilst the old folk are planning a match by *patootan*, or regular agreement between families, it frequently happens that *Miss* disappears

with a more favored swain, and secures a match of her own choice. This practice, styled *telarree gaddees*, is not the least common way of determining a marriage, and from a spirit of indulgence and humanity, which few codes can boast, has the sanction of the laws. The father has only the power left, of dictating the mode of marriage, but cannot take his daughter away, if the lover is willing to comply with the custom in such cases. The girl must be lodged, unviolated, in the house of some respectable family, till the relations are advised of the *enlèvement*, and settle the terms. If however, upon immediate pursuit, they are overtaken on the road, she may be forced back, but not after she has taken sanctuary.

By the Mosaic law, if a man left a widow, without children, his brother was to marry her. Among the Sumatrans, with or without children, the brother, or nearest male relation of the deceased, unmarried, (the father excepted) takes the widow. This is practised both by Malays and country people. The brother, in taking the widow to himself, becomes answerable for what may remain due of her purchase money, and in every respect represents the deceased. This is phrased *guntée teccar, bantapnia*—placing himself on his mat and pillow.

Chastity of the
women.

Chastity prevails more perhaps among these than any other people. It is so materially the interest of the parents to preserve the virtue of their daughters unsullied, as they constitute the chief of their substance, that they are particularly watchful in this respect. But as marriages in general do not take place so early as the forwardness of nature, in that climate, would admit, it will sometimes happen, notwithstanding their precaution, that a young woman, not chusing to wait her father's pleasure, tastes the fruit by stealth. When this is discovered he can oblige the man to marry her, and pay the *jobjeor*; or if he chuses to keep his daughter, the seducer must make good the difference he has occasioned in her value, and also pay the fine, called *tippong boomee*, for removing the stain from the earth. Prostitution for hire is, I think, unknown in the country, and confined to the more polite Malay bazars, where

where there is usually a concourse of sailors and others, who have no honest settlement of their own, and whom therefore it is impossible to restrain from promiscuous concubinage. At these places, vice generally reigns in a degree proportioned to the number and variety of people of different nations, who inhabit them, or occasionally resort thither. From the scenes which these sea-ports present, travellers too commonly form their judgment, and imprudently take upon them to draw, for the information of the world, a picture of the manners of a people.

The different species of horrid and disgusting crimes, which are emphatically denominated, against nature, are unknown on Sumatra; nor have any of their languages terms to express such ideas.

Incest, or the intermarriage of persons within a certain degree of consanguinity, which is perhaps (at least after the first degree) rather an offence against the institutions of human prudence, than a natural crime, is forbidden by their customs, and punishable by fine: yet the guilt is often expiated by a ceremony, and the marriages, in many instances, confirmed. Incest.

Adultery is punishable by fine; but the crime is rare, and suits on the subject still less frequent. The husband, it is probable, either conceals his shame, or revenges it with his own hand. Adultery.

If a man would divorce a wife he has married by *joojoor*, he may claim back what he has paid in part; less twenty five dollars, the *addat charro*, for the damage he has done her; but if he has paid the *joojoor* in full, the relations may chuse whether they will receive her or not; if not, he may sell her. If a man has paid part of a *joojoor*, but cannot raise the remainder, though repeatedly dunned for it, the parents of the girl may obtain a divorce; but if it is not with the husband's concurrence, they lose the advantage of the *charro*, and must refund all they have received. A woman married by *joojoor* must bring with her, effects to the amount of ten dollars, or if not, it is deducted from the *joojoor*; Divorces.
if

if she brings more, the husband is accountable for the difference. The original ceremony of divorce consists in cutting a rattan cane in two, in presence of the parties, their relations, and the chiefs of the country.

Second mode
of marriage.

In the mode of marriage by *ambel ana*, the father of a virgin makes choice of some young man for her husband, generally from an inferior family, which renounces all further right to, or interest in him, and he is taken into the house of his father-in-law, who kills a buffalo on the occasion, and receives twenty dollars from the son's relations. After this, the *booro bye'nia* (the good and bad of him) is vested in the wife's family. If he murders or robs, they pay the bangoon, or the fine. If he is murdered, they receive the bangoon. They are liable to any debts he may contract after marriage; those prior to it remaining with his parents. He lives in the family, in a state between that of a son, and a debtor. He partakes as a son of what the house affords, but has no property in himself. His rice plantation, the produce of his pepper garden, with every thing that he can gain or earn, belong to the family. He is liable to be divorced at their pleasure; and though he has children, must leave all, and return naked as he came. The family sometimes indulge him with leave to remove to a house of his own, and take his wife with him; but he, his children, and effects, are still their property. If he has not daughters by the marriage, he may redeem himself and wife, by paying her joojoor; but if there are daughters before they become emancipated, the difficulty is enhanced, because the family are equally entitled to their value. It is common, however, when they are upon good terms, to release him, on the payment of one joojoor, or at most with the addition of an addat of fifty dollars. With this addition, he may insist upon a release, whilst his daughters are not marriageable. If the family have paid any debts for him, he must also make them good. Should he contract more than they approve of, and they fear his adding to them, they procure a divorce, and send him back to his parents; but must pay his debts, to that time. If he is a notorious spendthrift, they outlaw him. Instead of taking out a writ, they have only to present one to the *proatseent* and *pamharab*. This

is called *bovang foeray*. They must banish him from home, and if they receive him again, or assist him with the smallest sum, they are liable to all his debts. On the prodigal son's return, and promise of amendment, this writ may be redeemed, on payment of five dollars to the proattees, and satisfying the creditors. The writ of outlawry is inscribed on a piece of bamboo. This kind of marriage is productive of much confusion, for till the time it takes place, the young man belongs to one doosoon and family, and afterwards to another, and as they have no records to refer to, there is great uncertainty in settling the time when debts were contracted, and the like. Sometimes the redemption of the family, and their return to the former doosoon, take place in the second or third generation; and in many cases it is doubtful whether they ever took place or not; the two parties contradicting each other, and perhaps no evidence to refer to. Hence arise various and intricate *hechors*.

Besides the modes of marriage above described, a third form, called *Semundo*, has been adopted from the Malays, and thence termed *semundo Malaya*, or *waredeeko* (free). This marriage is a regular treaty between the parties, on the foot of equality. The *addas* paid to the girl's friends, has usually been twelve dollars. The agreement stipulates, that all effects, gains, or earnings, are to be equally the property of both, and in case of divorce by mutual consent, the stock, debts, and credits are to be equally divided. If the man only, insists on the divorce, he gives the woman her half of the effects, and loses the twelve dollars he has paid. If the woman only, claims the divorce, she forfeits her right to the proportion of the effects, but is entitled to keep her *teecar*, *bantal*, and *dundun* (paraphernalia); and her relations are liable to pay back the twelve dollars; but it is seldom demanded. This mode, doubtless most conformable to our ideas of conjugal right and felicity, is that which the chiefs of the Rejang country have formally consented to establish throughout their jurisdiction, and to their orders, the influence of the Malay padres will contribute to give efficacy.

Third, or Malay mode of marriage.

It will not be improper here to mark the customs of the people of *Passummah*, in regard to their marriage contracts, which though pervaded entirely

Customs relative to marriage in Passummah.

entirely by the same spirit, differ from those established among the Rejangs, in several particulars.

The marriage by *joojoor* is there termed *koaloo*. When the parties are determined in their regards, the father of the young man, or the *boojong* himself, goes to the house of the father of the woman, carrying with him forty, fifty dollars, or more. On opening his design he tenders this money as a present, and the other's acceptance of it is a token that he is inclined to forward the match. This is the business of the first visit. The money thus deposited is called *puggatan*, and when the marriage is agreed upon, it is considered as an equivalent for the dress, and ornaments which the bride carries with her. It lies often in the hands of the girl's father, three, six, or twelve months, before the marriage is consummated. He sometimes sends for more, and is never refused; but it would be deemed scandalous for him to listen to any other proposals, whilst he thus continues *dallam rassan* (in treaty) with the former person. The purchase money consists of three distinct sums. The *ooróop niaow* (price of life), forty dollars; a creese with a golden head and silver sheath, valued at ten dollars; and the *soudo con billee* or *pootoos koaloo* (conclusion of the bargain), twenty dollars. These are generally made distinct payments.

The *koaloo* marriage may be dissolved at the pleasure of either of the parties. If the woman insists on separating, the children, if any, remain with the father. If the husband sues for the divorce, the children are divided. In these cases the purchase money is returned; an exact estimation is made of the value of the woman's trinkets, and what are not restored, must be made good by the husband. Sometimes a deduction is made from the purchase money, according to the circumstances of the affair. All this is settled by the chiefs assembled, if the parties cannot agree upon the terms amongst themselves.

In the *ambel ana* marriage, when the father resolves to dismiss the husband of his daughter, and send him back to his doosoon, the sum for
which

which he can redeem his wife and family, is an hundred dollars; and if he can raise that, and the woman is willing to go with him; the father cannot refuse them; and now the affair is changed into a *kooloo* marriage; the man returns to his former *toongooan* (settlement or family), and becomes of more consequence in society. These people are no strangers to that sentiment which we call a regard to family. There are some families among them more esteemed than others, though not graced with any title or employment in the state. The origin of this distinction, it is difficult to trace, but I am inclined to think that it arises from a succession of men of abilities. Every one has a regard to his race, and the probability of its being extinct, is esteemed a great unhappiness. This is what they call *toongooan putoos*, and the expression is used by the lowest member of the community. To have a wife, a family, collateral relations, and a settled place of residence, is to have a *toongooan*, and this they are anxious to support and perpetuate. It is with this view, that when a single female only remains of a family, they marry her by *ambel ana*; in which mode the husband's consequence is lost in the wife's, and in her children the *toongooan* of her father is continued. They find her a husband that will *menegga toongooan*, or as it is expressed amongst the Rejangs, *menegga rooma*, set up the house again.

The *semundo* marriage is little known in *Passumab*. I recollect that a *pangeran* of *Manna* having a son by a *semundo* marriage with a Malay woman, she refused, upon the father's death, to let the boy succeed to his dignities, and at the same time become answerable for his debts, and carried him with her from the country; which was productive of much confusion. Nor did it appear that the laws of the country would compel the child to be responsible for his father's engagements.

When a young woman is discovered to be with child before marriage, she, or more properly, her father, is fined forty dollars, or in failure of payment the girl becomes a slave. The man is fined thirty dollars. This is called *gaway panjingan*. The woman's fine goes to the calippah, and the man's to the inferior proatteens. The offending parties are likewise

obliged to give between them, a buffalo and rice, to remove the stain, which ceremony is here called *bassing loora*. If the woman does not discover by whom she is become pregnant, she must pay the whole fine. This regulation has much severity, and falls particularly hard on the girl's father, who not only has his daughter spoiled, but must also pay largely for her frailty. To the northward, the offence is not punished with so much rigor, yet the instances are there said to be rarer, and marriage is more usually the consequence. In other respects the customs of *Passumab* and *Rejang* are the same, in these matters.

Rites of marriage.

The rites of marriage, *neeka*, (from the Arabian word) consist simply in joining the hands of the parties, and pronouncing them man and wife, without much ceremony, excepting the entertainment which is given on the occasion. This is performed by one of the fathers, or the chief of the doosoon, according to the original customs of the country; but where Mahometanism has found its way, a padre or *imaum* executes the business.

Courtship

But little apparent courtship precedes their marriages. Their manners do not admit of it: the *boojong* and *gaddees* (youths of each sex) being carefully kept asunder, and the latter seldom trusted from under the wing of their mothers. Besides, courtship, with us, includes the idea of humble intreaty on the man's side, and favor and condescension on the part of the woman, who bestows person and property, for love. The Sumatran, on the contrary, when he fixes his choice, and pays all that he is worth, for the object of it, may naturally consider the obligation on his side. But still they are not without gallantry. They preserve a degree of delicacy and respect towards the sex, which might justify their retorting on many of the polished nations of antiquity, the epithet of barbarians. The opportunities which the young people have, of seeing and conversing with each other, are at the *bimbangs*, or public festivals, held at the *balli*, or town hall of the doosoon. On these occasions the unmarried people meet together, and dance and sing in company. It may be supposed that the young ladies cannot be long without their particular

ticular admirers. The men, when determined in their regards, generally employ an old woman as their agent, by whom they make known their sentiments, and send presents to the female of their choice. The parents then interfere, and the preliminaries being settled, a *bimbang* takes place. At these festivals, a goat, a buffalo, or several, according to the rank of the parties, are killed, to entertain, not only the relations and invited guests, but all the inhabitants of the neighbouring country who chuse to repair to them. The greater the concourse, the more is the credit of the host, who is generally, on these occasions, the father of the girl; but the different branches of the family, and frequently all the people of the *doosoon*, contribute a quota of rice.

Marriage festivals.

The young women proceed in a body to the upper end of the balli, where there is a part divided off for them, by a curtain. The floor is spread with their best mats, and the sides and ceiling of that extremity of the building, are hung with pieces of chintz, palampores, and the like. They do not always make their appearance before dinner; that time, with part of the afternoon, previous to a second or third meal, being appropriated to cock-fighting, and other diversions peculiar to the men. Whilst the young are thus employed, the old men consult together upon any affair that may be at the time in agitation; such as repairing a public building, or making reprisals upon the cattle of a neighbouring people. The *bimbangs* are often given on occasions of business only, and as they are apt to be productive of cabals, the Europeans require that they shall not be held without their knowledge and approbation. To give authority to their contracts and other deeds, whether of a public or private nature, they always make a *bimbang*. Writings, say they, may be altered or counterfeited, but the memory of what is transacted and concluded in the presence of a thousand witnesses, must remain sacred. Sometimes in token of the final determination of an affair, they cut a notch in a post, before the chiefs; which they call *taccco cayoo*.

Order observed.

In the evening, their softer amusements take place; of which the dances are the principal. These are performed either singly, or by two

Amusement of Dancing.

women, two men, or with both mixed. Their motions and attitudes are usually slow, and too much forced to be graceful; approaching often to the lascivious, and not unfrequently the ludicrous. This is, I believe, the general opinion formed of them by Europeans, but it may be the effect of prejudice. Certain I am, that our usual dances are, in their judgment, to the full as ridiculous. The minuets they compare to the fighting of two game-cocks, alternately approaching and receding. Our country-dances they esteem too violent and confused, without shewing grace or agility. The stage dances, I have not a doubt, would please them. Part of the female dress, called the *salendang*, which is usually of silk, with a gold head, is tied round the waist, and the ends of this, they, at times, extend behind them with their hands. They bend forward as they dance, and usually carry a fan, which they close and strike smartly against their elbows, at particular cadences. They keep time well, and the partners preserve a consistency with each other, though the steps are *ad libitum*. A brisker movement is sometimes adopted, which proves more conformable to the taste of the English spectators.

and Singing,

Dancing is not the only amusement on these occasions. A *gaddees* sometimes rises, and leaning her face on her arm, supporting herself against a pillar, or the shoulder of one of her companions, with her back to the audience, begins a tender song. She is soon taken up, and answered, by one of the *boojongs* in company, whose greatest pretensions to gallantry and fashion are founded on an adroitness at this polite accomplishment. The uniform subject, on such occasions, is love, and as the words are extempore, there are numberless degrees of merit in the composition, which is sometimes surprizingly well turned, quaint, and even witty. There are also characters of humor amongst the men, who, by buffoonery, mimickry, punning, repartee, and satire, (rather of the Sardonic kind) are able to keep the company in laughter, at intervals, during the course of a night's entertainment. The assembly seldom breaks up before day light, and these bimbangs are often continued for several days together, till their stock of provisions is exhausted. The young men frequent

frequent them in order to look out for wives, and the lasses of course set themselves off to the best advantage. They wear their best filken dresses, of their own weaving; as many ornaments of filagree as they possess; silver rings upon their arms and legs; and earrings of a particular construction. Their hair is variously adorned with flowers, and perfumed with oil of benjamin. Civet is also in repute, but more used by the men. To render their skin fine, smooth, and soft, they make use of a white cosmetic called *poopoor*. The mode of preparing it is as follows. The basis is fine rice, which is a long time steeped in water, then dried, reduced to a powder, and by wetting made into a paste. They mix with this, ginger, and the leaf of a plant called *dee'um* (patch leaf), which gives it its peculiar smell, and also, as is supposed, a cooling quality. They add likewise the flowers of the *jagong* (maize); *cayoo chendano* (sandal wood); and the seeds of a plant called there *capay anteo* (fairy cotton), which is the *abel mosc*, or musk seed. All these ingredients, after being well mixed together, are made up into little balls, and when they would apply the cosmetic, these are diluted with a drop of water, rubbed between the hands, and then on the face, neck, and shoulders. They have an apprehension, probably well founded, that a too abundant or frequent application, will, by stopping the pores of the skin, bring on a fever. It is used, with good effect, to remove that troublesome complaint, so well known to Europeans in India, by the name of the prickly heat; but it is not always safe for strangers thus to check the operations of nature, in a warm climate. The Sumatran girls, as well as our English maidens, entertain a favorable opinion of the virtues of morning dew, as a beautifier, and believe that by rubbing it to the roots of the hair, it will strengthen and thicken it. With this view they take pains to catch it before sun-rise, in vessels, as it falls.

Dresses.

Cosmetic used,
and mode of
preparing it.

If a wedding is the occasion of the *bimbang*, the couple are married perhaps the second or third day; but it may be two or three more, ere the husband can get possession of his bride; the old matrons making it a rule to prevent him, as long as possible, and the bride herself holding it

Consummation
of marriages.

it a point of honor, to defend to extremity that jewel, which she would yet be disappointed in preserving.* They sit up in state, at night, on raised cushions, in their best cloaths and trinkets. They are sometimes loaded on the occasion, with all the finery of their relations, or even the whole doosoon; and carefully eased of it when the ceremony is over. But this is not the case with the children of persons of rank. I remember being present at the marriage of a young woman, whose beauty would not have disgraced any country, with a son of *Raddeen*, prince of *Madura*, to whom the English gave protection from the power of the Dutch, after his father had fallen a sacrifice.† She was decked in unborrowed plumes. Her dress was eminently calculated to do justice to a fine person; her hair, in which consists their chief pride, was disposed with extreme grace; and an uncommon elegance and taste were displayed in the workmanship and adjustment of her ornaments. It must be confessed, however, that this taste is by no means general, especially amongst the country people. Simplicity, so essential to the idea, is the characteristic of a rude and quite uncivilized people; and is again adopted by men in their highest state of refinement. The Sumatrans stand removed from both these extremes. Rich and splendid articles of dress and furniture, though not often procured, are the objects of their vanity and ambition.

The bimbangs are conducted with great decorum and regularity. The old women are very attentive to the conduct of the girls, and the male relations are highly jealous of any insults that may be shewn them. A lad, at one of these entertainments, asked another his opinion of a *gaddees* who was then dancing. "If she was plated with gold, replied he, I would not take her for my concubine, much less for my wife." A brother of the girl happened to be within hearing, and called him to

* It is recorded, that the jealousy between the English and Dutch at *Bantam*, arose from a preference shewn to the former by the King, at a festival which he gave upon obtaining a victory of this nature, which his bride had long disputed with him.

† The circumstances of this disgraceful affair, are preserved in a book entitled "A voyage to the East Indies in 1747 and 1748."

account for the reflection thrown on his sister. Creeses were drawn, but the bystanders prevented mischief. The brother appeared the next day, to take the law of the defamer, but the gentleman, being of the *reefow* cast, had absconded, and was not to be found.

The customs of the Sumatrans permit their having as many wives by *joejoor*, as they can compass the purchase of, or afford to maintain; but it is extremely rare that an instance occurs of their having more than one, and that only among a few of the chiefs. This continence they in some measure owe to their poverty. The dictates of frugality are more powerful with them, than the irregular calls of appetite, and make them decline an indulgence, that their law does not restrain them from. In talking of polygamy, they allow it to be the privilege of the rich, but regard it as a refinement which the poor Rejangs cannot pretend to. Some young reefows have been known to take wives in different places, but the father of the first, as soon as he hears of the second marriage, procures a divorce. A man married by *semundo* cannot take a second wife, without repudiating the first, for this obvious reason, that two or more persons could not be equally entitled to the half of his effects.

Number of
wives.

Montesquieu infers, that the law which permits polygamy, is physically conformable to the climate of Asia. The season of female beauty precedes that of their reason, and from its prematurity soon decays. The empire of their charms is short. It is therefore natural, the president observes, that a man should leave one wife to take another: that he should seek a renovation of those charms which had withered in his possession. But are these the real circumstances of polygamy? surely not. It implies the cotemporary enjoyment of women in the same predicament: and I should consider it as a vice, that has its source in the influence of a warm atmosphere upon the passions of men, which, like the cravings of other disordered appetites, make them miscalculate their wants. It is probably the same influence, on less rigid nerves, that renders their thirst of revenge so much more violent, than among northern nations; but we are not therefore to pronounce murder to be physically conform-

Question of
Polygamy.

conformable to a southern climate. Far be it from my intention however, to put these passions on a level; I only mean to shew that the president's reasoning proves too much. It must further be considered, that the genial warmth which expands the desires of the men, and prompts a more unlimited exertion of their faculties, does not inspire their constitutions with proportionate vigor; but on the contrary, renders them, in this respect, inferior to the inhabitants of the temperate zone; whilst it equally influences the desires of the opposite sex, without being found to diminish from their capacity of enjoyment. From which I would draw this conclusion, that if nature intended that one woman only should be the companion of one man, in the colder regions of the earth, it appears also intended, *à fortiori*, that the same law should be observed in the hotter; inferring nature's design, not from the desires, but from the abilities with which she has endowed mankind.

Montesquieu has further suggested, that the inequality in the comparative numbers of each sex, born in Asia, which is represented to be greatly superior on the female side, may have a relation to the law that allows polygamy. But there is strong reason to deny the reality of this supposed excess. The *Japan* account, taken from *Kämpfer*, which makes them to be in the proportion of twenty two to eighteen, is very inconclusive, as the numbering of the inhabitants of a great city, can furnish no proper test; and the account of births at *Bantam*, which states the number of girls to be ten, to one boy, is not only manifestly absurd, but positively false. I can take upon me to assert, that the proportion of the sexes, throughout Sumatra, does not sensibly differ from that ascertained in Europe; nor could I ever learn from the inhabitants of the many eastern islands whom I have conversed with, that they were conscious of any disproportion in this respect.

Connexion
between poly-
gamy and pur-
chase of wives.

But from whatever source we derive polygamy, its prevalence seems to be universally attended with the practice of giving a valuable consideration for the woman, instead of receiving a dowry with her. This is a natural consequence. Where each man endeavors to engross several,

the

the demand for the commodity, as a merchant would express it, is increased, and the price of course enhanced. In Europe, on the contrary, where the demand is small; whether owing to the paucity of males from continual diminution; their coldness of constitution, which suffers them rather to play with the sentimental, than act from the animal passion; their corruption of manners leading them to promiscuous concubinage; or in fine, the extravagant luxury of the times, which renders a family an insupportable burthen;—whatever may be the cause, it becomes necessary, in order to counteract it, and produce an additional incitement to the marriage state, that a premium be given with the females. We find in the history of the earliest ages of the world, that where a plurality of women was allowed of, by law or custom, they were obtained by money or service. The form of marriage by *Semando*, among the Malays, which admits but of one partner, requires no sum to be paid by the husband to the relations of the wife, except a trifle, by way of token, or to defray the expences of the wedding feast. The circumstance of the Rejangs confining themselves to one, and at the same time giving a price for their wives, would seem an exception to the general rule laid down; but this is an accidental, and perhaps temporary restraint, arising, it may be, from the European influence, which tends to make them regular and industrious, but keeps them poor: affords the means of subsistence to all, but the opportunity of acquiring riches to few or none. In their genuine state, war and plunder caused a rapid fluctuation of property; the little wealth now among them, derived mostly from the India Company's expenditure, circulates through the country in an equal stream, returning chiefly, like the water exhaled in vapors from the sea, to its original source. The custom of giving joojoores, had most probably its foundation in polygamy; and the superstructure subsists, though its basis is partly mouldered away: but being scarcely tenatable, the inhabitants are inclined to quit, and suffer it to fall to the ground. Moderation in point of women destroying their principle, the joojoores appear to be devoid of policy. Open a new spring of luxury, and polygamy now confined to a few individuals amongst the chiefs, will spread throughout the people. Beauty will be in high request; each fair one will be sought

for by many competitors; and the payment of the joojoor be again esteemed a reasonable equivalent for possession. Their acknowledging the custom, under the present circumstances, to be a prejudicial one, so contrary to the spirit of eastern manners, which is ever marked with a blind veneration for the establishments of antiquity, contributes to strengthen considerably the opinion I have advanced.

- Gaming.** Through every rank of the people there prevails a strong spirit of *gaming*; which is a vice that readily insinuates itself into minds naturally averse from the avocations of industry. The thoughts of man are active, and where the sphere is circumscribed, they rush into those channels which convey them with the most rapidity. Gaming being in general a sedentary occupation, is more adapted to a warm climate, where bodily exertion is, in very few instances, considered as an amusement. A common species of gambling is with dice, (*dadoo**) but these, throughout the pepper districts, are rigorously forbid; because it is not only the child, but the parent of idleness, and by the event of play, often throws
- Dice.** whole villages into confusion. Cock-fighting they are still more passionately addicted to, and it is indulged to them under certain regulations. Where they are perfectly independent, their propensity to it is so great, that it resembles rather a serious occupation, than a sport. You seldom meet a man travelling in the country, without a cock under his arm, and sometimes fifty persons in a company, when there is a *bimbang* in one of the neighbouring villages. A country man coming down, on any occasion, to the *qualloe*, or mouth of the river, if he boasts the least degree of spirit, must not be unprovided with this token of it. They often game high at their meetings; particularly when a superstitious faith in the invincibility of their bird, has been strengthened by past success. An hundred Spanish dollars is no very uncommon risk, and instances have occurred of a father's staking his children or wife, and a son his mother or sisters, on the issue of a battle; when a
- Cock-fighting.**

* There is reason to conclude, from the name, that Dice were introduced in this part of the world by the Portuguese.

run of ill luck has stripped them of property, and rendered them desperate. Quarrels, attended with dreadful consequences, have often arisen on these occasions.

By their customs, there are four umpires appointed to determine on all disputed points in the course of the battles; and from their decision there lies no appeal; except the Gothic appeal to the sword. A person who loses, and has not the ability to pay, is immediately proscribed, departs with disgrace, and is never again suffered to appear at the *galang-gang*. This cannot with propriety be translated, a *cock-pit*, as it is generally a spot on the level ground, or a stage erected, and covered in. It is inclosed with a railing which keeps off the spectators; none but the handlers and heelers being admitted within side. A man who has an high opinion of, and regard for his cock, will not fight him under a certain number of dollars, which he places in order on the floor: his poorer adversary is perhaps unable to deposit above one half: the *standers-by* make up the sum, and receive their dividends in proportion, if successful. A father, at his death-bed, has been known to desire his son to take the first opportunity of matching a certain cock, for a sum equal to his whole property, under a blind conviction of its being *betooah*, or invulnerable.

Rules of cock-
ing.

Cocks of the same color are never matched, but a grey against a pile, a yellow against a red, or the like. This might have been originally designed to prevent disputes, or knavish impositions. The Malay breed of cocks is much esteemed by connoisseurs who have had an opportunity of trying them. Great pains is taken in the rearing and feeding; they are frequently handled, and accustomed to spar in public, in order to prevent any shyness. Contrary to our laws, the owner is allowed to take up and handle his cock during the battle, to clear his eye of a feather, or his mouth of blood. When a cock is killed, or runs, the other must have sufficient spirit and vigor left to peck at him three times, on his being held to him for that purpose, or it becomes a drawn battle; and sometimes an experienced cocker will place the head of his vanquished bird, in such an uncouth posture, as to terrify the other, and render him

Matches.

unable to give this proof of victory. The cocks are never trimmed, but matched in full feather. The artificial spur used in Sumatra, resembles in shape the blade of a scimitar, and proves a more destructive weapon than the European spur. It has no socket, but is tied to the leg, and in the position of it, the nicety of the match is regulated. As in horse-racing, weight is proportioned to inches, so in cocking, a bird of superior weight and size is brought to an equality with his adversary, by fixing the steel spur so many scales of the leg above the natural spur, and thus obliging him to fight with a degree of disadvantage. It rarely happens that both cocks survive the combat.

In the northern parts of the island, where gold dust is the common medium of gambling, as well as of trade, so much is accidentally dropt in weighing and delivering, that at some cock-pits, where the resort of people is great, the sweepings are said, probably with exaggeration, to be worth upwards of a thousand dollars per annum to the owner of the ground; beside his profit of two fanams (five pence) for each battle.

Quail-fighting. In some places they match quails, in the manner of cocks. These fight with great inveteracy, and endeavor to seize each other by the tongue. The Achenese bring also into combat the dial bird, (*moori*) which resembles a small magpye, but has an agreeable, though imperfect note. They sometimes engage one another on the wing, and drop to the ground in the struggle.

Fencing.

They have other diversions of a more innocent nature. Matches of fencing, or a species of tournament, are exhibited on particular days; as at the breaking up of their annual fast, or month of *ramadan*, called there the *pooaffo*. On these occasions they practice strange attitudes, with violent contortions of the body, and often work themselves up to a degree of frenzy; when the old men step in, and carry them off. These exercises, in some circumstances, resemble the idea which the ancients have given us of the *pyrrhic* or war dance; the combatants moving at a distance from each other, in cadence, and making many turns and springs, unnecessary in the representation of a real combat. This entertainment

is more common among the Malays, than in the country. The chief weapons of offence used by these people, are the *coojcor* or lance, and the *creese*. This last is properly Malay, but in all parts of the island, they have a weapon equivalent, though in general less curious in its structure, wanting that waving in the blade, for which the *creese* is remarkable, and approaching nearer to daggers or knives.

Among their exercises we never observe jumping or running. They smile at the Europeans, who, in their excursions, take so many unnecessary leaps. The custom of going barefoot, may be a principal impediment to this practice, in a country overrun with thorny shrubs, and where no fences occur to render it a matter of expediency.

They have a diversion similar to that described by Homer, as practised among the Phæacians; which consists in tossing an elastic, wicker ball, from one to the other, in a large party. They arrive to a great degree of dexterity in the sport, receiving it, with equal facility, on the foot or the hand, the heel or the toe; from whence it is thrown either perpendicularly into the air, and caught again, or obliquely to some other person of the company, who stand in an extended circle. It is to be remarked that the Sumatrans are, in general, very expert in the use of their feet, employing them, as their hands, to lift any thing, not heavy, from the ground, between the great and second toe, or by a contraction of the whole foot,

Diversion of
tossing a ball.

The Sumatrans, and more particularly the Malays, are much attached, in common with many other eastern people, to the custom of smoking *opium*. The poppy which produces it not growing on the island, it is annually imported from Bengal in considerable quantities, in chests containing an hundred and forty pounds each. It is made up in cakes of five or six pounds weight, and packed with dried leaves; in which situation it will continue good and valuable for two years, but after that period grows hard, and diminishes considerably in value. It is of a darker color,

Smoking of
Opium.

color, and has less strength than the Turkey opium. About an hundred and fifty chests are consumed annually on the West coast of Sumatra; where it is purchased, on an average, at three hundred dollars the chest, and sold again at five or six. But on occasions of extraordinary scarcity I have known it to sell for its weight in silver, and a single chest to fetch upwards of three thousand dollars.

The method of preparing it for use is as follows. The raw opium is first boiled or seethed in a copper vessel; then strained through a cloth, to free it from impurities; and then a second time boiled. The leaf of the *bacou*, shred fine, is mixed with it, in a quantity sufficient to absorb the whole; and it is afterwards made up into small pills, about the size of a pea, for smoking. One of these being put into the small tube that projects from the side of the opium pipe, that tube is applied to a lamp, and the pill being lighted, is consumed at one whiff, or inflation of the lungs. The smoke is never emitted by the mouth: it usually receives vent through the nostrils, and sometimes, by adepts, through the passage of the ears and eyes. This preparation of the opium is called *mudlat*, and is often adulterated in the process, by mixing *jaggree*, or pine sugar, with it; as is the raw opium, by incorporating with it, the fruit of the *pesang* or plantain.

Effects of
Opium.

The use of opium among these people, as that of intoxicating liquors among other nations, is a species of luxury, which all ranks adopt according to their ability, and which, when once become habitual, it is almost impossible to shake off. Being however, like other luxuries, expensive, few only, among the lower class of people, can compass the regular enjoyment of it; even where its use is not restrained, as it is among the pepper planters, to the times of their festivals. That the practice of smoking opium must be in some degree prejudicial to the health, is highly probable; yet I am inclined to think that effects have been attributed to it, much more pernicious to the constitution, than it is in reality the cause of. The Bugguese soldiers, and others in the Malay bazars, whom we see most attached to it, and who use it to excess, commonly appear emaciated;

emaciated; but they are in other respects abandoned and debauched. The *Leemoon* and *Battang Affy* gold traders, on the contrary, who are an active, laborious class of men, but yet indulge as freely in opium as any others whatever, are, notwithstanding, the most healthy and vigorous people to be met with on the island. It has been usual also to attribute to the practice, destructive consequences of another nature; from the frenzy it has been supposed to excite in those who take it in quantities. But this should probably rank with the many errors that mankind have been led into, by travellers addicted to the marvellous; and there is every reason to believe, that the furious quarrels, desperate assassinations, and sanguinary attacks, which the use of opium is said to give birth to, are idle notions, originally adopted through ignorance, and since maintained, from the mere want of investigation, without having any solid foundation. It is not to be controverted that those desperate acts of indiscriminate murder, called by us, *mucks*, and by the natives, *mongamo*, do actually take place, and frequently too, in some parts of the east, (on Java in particular) but it is not equally evident that they proceed from any intoxication, except that of their unruly passions. Too often they are occasioned by excess of cruelty and injustice in their oppressors. On the West coast of Sumatra about twenty thousand pounds weight of this drug are consumed annually, yet instances of this crime do not happen, (at least within the scope of our knowledge) above once in two or three years. During my residence there I had an opportunity of being an eye-witness but to one *muck*. The slave of a Portuguese woman, a man of the island of *Neas*, who in all probability had never handled an opium pipe in his life, being treated by his mistress with extreme severity, for a trifling offence, vowed he would have revenge if she attempted to strike him again; and ran down the steps of the house, with a knife in each hand, as it was said. She cried out, *mongamo!* The civil guard was called, who having the power, in these cases, of exercising summary justice, fired half a dozen rounds, into an outhouse, where the unfortunate wretch had sheltered himself, on their approach; and from whence he was at length dragged, covered with wounds. Many other

mucks

mucks might perhaps be found, upon scrutiny, of the nature of the foregoing, where a man of strong feelings was driven, by excess of injury, to domestic rebellion.

It is true that the Malays, when, in a state of war, they are bent on any daring enterprize, fortify themselves with a few whiffs of opium, to render them insensible to danger ; as the people of another nation are said to take a dram ; but it must be observed, that the resolution for the act precedes, and is not the effect of the intoxication. They take the same precaution, previous to being led to public execution, but on these occasions shew greater signs of stupidity, than frenzy. Upon the whole, it may be reasonably concluded, that the sanguinary achievements, for which the Malays have been famous, or infamous rather, in history, are more justly derived from the natural ferocity of their disposition, than from the qualities of any drug whatever. The pretext of the soldiers of the country guard, for using opium, is, that it may render them watchful on their nightly posts : we, on the contrary, administer it to procure sleep ; and according to the quantity it has either effect. The delirium it produces is known to be so very pleasing, that Pope has supposed this to have been designed by Homer, when he describes the delicious draught prepared by Helen, called *Nepenthe*, which exhilarated the spirits, and banished from the mind the recollection of woe.

It is remarkable that at *Batavia*, where the assassins just now described, when taken alive, are broken on the wheel, with every aggravation of punishment that the most rigorous justice can inflict, the mucks yet happen in great frequency ; whilst at *Benoolen*, where they are executed in the most simple and expeditious manner, the offence is extremely rare. Excesses of severity in punishment may deter men from deliberate and interested acts of villany, but they add fuel to the atrocious enthusiasm of desperadoes. A further proof of the influence that mild government has upon the manners of people, is, that the piratical adventures, so common on the eastern coast of the island, are unknown on the western. Far from our having apprehensions of the Malays, the guards at the smaller

Piratical adventures.

English

English settlements, are almost entirely composed of them, with a mixture of *Bugnais* or *Maccassar* people. Europeans, attended by Malays only, are continually travelling through the country. They are the only persons employed in carrying treasure to distant places; in the capacity of secretaries for the country correspondence; as civil officers, in seizing delinquents, among the planters, and elsewhere; and as masters and supercargoes of the *tombongons*, *praws*, and other small coasting vessels. So great is the effect which habit has upon a national character, esteemed the most treacherous and sanguinary.

~~Custom of chewing Betel. Emblematic presents. Oratory. Children.~~
~~Names of the several parts of the betel.~~

Custom of
chewing betel.

WHEN THE BETEL is to blunt the edge of painful reflection, or owing to an aversion our nature has from total inaction, most nations have been addicted to the practice of enjoying by mastication, or otherwise, the flavor of substances possessing an insubstantial quality. The South Americans chew the *cocoa* and *mamber*, and the eastern people, the *betel* and *areca*, or, as they are called in the Malay language, *seeree* and *penang*. This custom has been accurately described by various writers, and therefore it is almost superfluous to say more on the subject, than that the Sumatrans universally use it; carry the ingredients constantly about them; and serve it to their guests on all occasions; the prince in a gold stand, and the poor man in a brass box, or mat bag. The betel-stands of the better rank of people, are usually of silver, embossed with rude figures. The Sultan of Moco Moco was presented with one by the India Company, with their arms on it; and he possesses beside, another of gold filagree. The form of the stand is the frustum of an hexagonal pyramid, reversed; about six or eight inches in diameter. It contains many smaller vessels, fitted to the angles, for holding the nut, leaf and *chunam*, which is quick lime made from calcined shells; with places for the instruments employed in cutting the first, (*cacbeep*), and spatulas for spreading the last.

When the first salutation is over, which consists in bending the body, and the inferior's putting his joined hands between those of the superior, and then lifting them to his forehead, the betel is presented as a token of hospitality, and an act of politeness. To omit it on the one hand, or to reject it on the other, were an affront; as it would be likewise, in a person of subordinate rank, to address a great man, without the precaution of chewing it before he spoke. All the preparation consists in spreading on the *seeree* leaf, a small quantity of the *chunam*, and folding it up with a slice of the *penang* nut. Some mix with these, *gambeer*, which

which is a substance prepared from the leaves of a tree of that name by boiling their juices to a consistence, and made up into little balls or squares * : tobacco is likewise added, which is shred fine for the purpose, and carried between the lip, and upper row of teeth. From the mastication of the first three, proceeds a juice which tinges the saliva of a bright red, and which the leaf and nut, without the chunam, will not yield. This hue being communicated to the mouth and lips, is esteemed ornamental ; and an agreeable flavor is imparted to the breath. The juice is usually, though not always, swallowed by the chewers of betel. We might reasonably suppose that its active qualities would injure the coats of the stomach, but experience seems to disprove such a consequence. It is common to see the teeth of elderly persons stand loose in the gums, which is probably the effect of this custom, but I do not think that it affects the soundness of the teeth themselves. Children begin to chew betel very young, and yet their teeth are always beautifully white, till pains are taken to disfigure them, by filing, and staining them black. To persons who are not habituated to the composition, it causes a strong giddiness, astringes and excoerates the tongue and fauces, and destroys for a time the faculty of taste. During the *posasso*, or fast of *Ramadan*, the Mahometans among them abstain from the use of betel, whilst the sun continues above the horizon ; but excepting at this season, it is the constant luxury of both sexes, from an early period of childhood, till, becoming toothless, they are reduced to the necessity of having the ingredients previously reduced to a paste for them, so that without further effort the betel may dissolve in the mouth. Along with the betel, and generally in the chunam, is the mode of conveying philtres, or love charms. How far they prove effectual I cannot take upon me to say, but suppose that they are of the nature of our stimulant medicines, and that the direction of the passion is of course indiscriminate. The practice of administering poison in this manner is not followed in latter times ; but that the idea is not so far eradicated, as entirely to prevent suspicion, appears from this circumstance ; that the guest, though taking a leaf from the betel-service of his entertainer, not unfrequently applies to it his own chunam, and

* A particular detail of the cultivation and manufacture of the *gambier* is given in the 2d volume of the Trans. of the *Batavian Society*.

never omits to pass the former between his thumb and fore finger, in order to wipe off any extraneous matter. This mistrustful proceeding is so common as not to give offence.

Tobacco.

Beside the mode beforementioned of enjoying the flavor of tobacco, it is also smoked by the natives, and for this use, after shredding it fine, whilst green, and drying it well, it is rolled up in leaves of the *neepab* tree (a species of palm), and it is in that form called *roko*. The *rokos* are carried in the betel-box, or more commonly under the *dayar* or handkerchief which, in imitation of a turban, surrounds the head. Much tobacco is likewise imported from China, and sells at a high price. It seems to possess a greater pungency than the Sumatran plant.

Emblematic presents.

The custom of sending emblematical presents, in order to make known, in a covert manner, the birth, progress, or change of certain affections of the mind, prevails here, as in some other parts of the east; but the sentiments of the correspondents are not conveyed in the elegant manner which some writers have described, as prevailing in Turkey and elsewhere, by means of flowers, of different hues, variously combined in nosegays. Small parcels of salt, cayenne pepper, betel, and the like, are here employed, which, among adepts, are known to denote love, jealousy, resentment, hatred, and other strong feelings.

Oratory.

The Sumatrans in general are good speakers. The gift of oratory seems natural to them. I knew many among them, whose harangues I have listened to with pleasure and admiration. This may be accounted for, perhaps, from the constitution of their government, which being far removed from despotism, seems to admit, in some degree, every member of the society to a share in the public deliberations. Where personal endowments, as has been observed, will often raise a private man to a share of importance in the community, superior to that of a nominal chief, there is abundant inducement for the acquisition of these valuable talents. The forms of their judicial proceedings, likewise, where there are no established advocates, and each man depends upon his own, or his friend's abilities, for the management of his cause, must doubtless

doubtless contribute to this habitual eloquence. We may add to these conjectures, the nature of their domestic manners, which introduce the sons, at an early period of life, into the business of the family, and the counsels of their elders. There is little to be perceived among them, of that passion for childish sports which marks the character of our boys, from the seventh to the fourteenth year. On Sumatra you will observe infants, not exceeding the former age, full dressed, and armed with a creese, seated in the circle of the old men of the doosoon, and attending to their debates with a gravity of countenance not surpassed by their grandfathers. Thus initiated, they are qualified to deliver an opinion in public, at a time of life, when an English schoolboy could scarce return an answer to a question, beyond the limits of his grammar or syntax, which he has learned by rote. It is not a little unaccountable, that this people, who hold the art of speaking in such high esteem, and evidently pique themselves on the attainment of it, should yet take so much pains to destroy the organs of speech, in filing down, and otherwise disfiguring their teeth ; and likewise adopt the uncouth practice of filling their mouths with betel, whenever they prepare to hold forth. We must conclude, that it is not upon the graces of elocution they value an orator, but his artful and judicious management of the subject matter ; together with a copiousness of phrase, a perspicuity of thought, an advantageous arrangement, and a readiness, especially, at unravelling the difficulties and intricacies of their suits,

The curse entailed on women in the article of child-bearing, does not fall so heavy in this, as in the northern countries. Their pregnancy, scarcely at any period prevents their attendance on the ordinary domestic duties ; and usually within a few hours after their delivery, they walk to the bathing place, at a small distance from the house. The presence of a *sage femme* is often esteemed superfluous. This facility of parturition may probably be owing to the relaxation of the frame, from the warmth of the climate ; to which cause also, may be attributed the paucity of children borne by the Sumatran women, and the early decay of their beauty and strength. They have the tokens of old age, at a season of life

Child-bearing.

life when European women have not passed their prime. The early communication between the sexes, may possibly contribute to shorten both their lives and stature. They are like the fruits of the country, soon ripe, and soon decayed. They bear children before fifteen, are generally past it at thirty, and grey-headed and shrivelled at forty. I do not recollect hearing of any woman who had six children, except the wife of *Raddeen* of *Madura*, who had more, and she, contrary to the universal custom, did not give suck to hers.

Treatment of
children.

Mothers carry the children, not on the arm, as our nurses do, but straddling on the hip, and usually supported by a cloth, which ties in a knot on the opposite shoulder. This practice, I have been told, is common in some parts of Wales. It is much safer than the other method, less tiresome to the nurse, and the child has the advantage of sitting in a less constrained posture: but the defensive armour of stays, and offensive weapons called pins, might be some objection to the general introduction of the fashion in England. The children are nursed but little; not confined by any swathing or bandages; and being suffered to roll about the floor, soon learn to walk and shift for themselves. When cradles are used, they swing suspended from the ceiling of the rooms.

Age of the
people.

The country people can very seldom give an account of their age, being entirely without any species of chronology. Among those who profess themselves Mahometans, to very few is the number of the *Hegira* known; and even of those who in their writings make use of it, not one in ten can pronounce in what year of it they were born. After a few *taoun paddee* (harvests) are elapsed, they are bewildered in regard to the date of an event, and only guess at it from some contemporary circumstance of notoriety; as the appointment of a particular *dupatty*; the incursion of a certain enemy, or the like. As far as can be judged from observation, it would seem, that few attain to the age of fifty, and sixty years is extreme long life.

Names.

The children, among the *Rejangs*, have generally a name given them by their parents, soon after their birth, which is called "*namo dagging*."

The

Tengalar (*castellan*), another species of name, or title, as we improperly translate it, is bestowed at a subsequent, but not at any determinate period: sometimes, as the lads rise to manhood, at an entertainment given by the parent, on some particular occasion; and often at their marriage. It is generally conferred by the old men of the neighbouring villages, when assembled; but instances occur of its being, irregularly, assumed by the persons themselves; and some never obtain any *galar*. It is also not unusual, at a convention held on business of importance, to change the *galar* of one or two of the principal personages, to others of superior estimation; though it is not easy to discover in what this preeminence consists, the appellations being entirely arbitrary, at the fancy of those who confer them; perhaps in the loftier sound, or more pompous allusion in the sense, which latter is sometimes carried to an extraordinary pitch of bombast, as in the instance of "*Paongoenchong boomee*," or "Shaker of the world" the title of a *pangeran* of *Manna*. But a climax is not always perceptible in the change.

The father, in many parts of the country, and particularly in *Passum-mah*, is distinguished by the name of his first child as "*Pa-Laddeen*," or "*Pa-Rindoo*," ("*Pa*" for "*bapa*," signifying "the father of") and loses in this acquired, his own proper name. This is a singular custom, and surely less conformable to the order of nature, than that which names the son from the father. There, it is not usual to give them a *galar*, on their marriage, as with the *Rajangs*, among whom the *filonymic* is not so common, though sometimes adopted, and perhaps joined with the *galar*; as *Raddeen-pa-Chirano*. The women never change the name given them at the time of their birth; yet frequently they are called, through courtesy, from their eldest child, "*Ma se anno*," the mother of such an one; but rather as a polite description, than a name. The word or particle "*Se*" is always prefixed to proper names of persons, where the name consists of but a single word; as *Se Bintang*; but not *Se Mallim Mallego*.

Father named
from his child.

A Sumatran ever scrupulously abstains from pronouncing his own name; not, as I understand, from any motive of superstition, but merely as a punctilio

Hesitate to pro-
nounce their
own name.

Address in the
third person.

punctilio in manners. It occasions him infinite embarrassment, when a stranger, unacquainted with their customs, requires it of him. As soon as he recovers from his confusion, he solicits the interposition of his neighbour. He is never addressed, except in the case of a superior dictating to his dependant, in the second person, but always in the third; using his name, or title, instead of the pronoun; and when these are unknown, a general title of respect is substituted, and they say, for instance, "*apo orang cayo poonia sooco?*" "what is his honor's pleasure" for "what is your, or your honor's pleasure?" When criminals, or other ignominious persons, are spoken to, they make use of pronouns personal, both masculine and feminine ("*ong*" "*caow*") particularly expressive of contempt. The idea of disrespect annexed to the use of the second person, in discourse, though difficult to be accounted for, seems pretty general in the world. The Europeans, to avoid the supposed indecorum, exchange the singular number for the plural; but I think, with less propriety of effect than the Asiatic mode; if to take off from the bluntness of address, be the object aimed at.

Circumcision.

The boys are circumcised, where Mahometanism prevails, between the sixth and tenth year. The ceremony is called *boong maloo* (casting away their shame), and a *bimbang* is usually given on the occasion; as well as at the ceremony of boring their daughters ears, and fixing their teeth, (before described) which takes place at about the same age, and before which is performed, they cannot, with propriety, be married.

Funerals.

At their funerals, the corpse is carried to the place of interment, on a broad plank, which is kept for the public service of the doosoon, and lasts for many generations. It is constantly rubbed with lime, either to preserve it from decay, or to keep it pure. No coffin is made use of; the body being simply wrapped in white cloth, particularly of the sort called *bummums*. In forming the grave, after digging to a convenient depth, they make a cavity in the side, at bottom, of sufficient dimensions to contain the body; by which means the earth literally lies light upon it; and this cavity, after strewing flowers in it, they stop up by two boards,

boards, fastened angularly to each other, so that the one is on the top of the corpse, whilst the other defends it on the open side; the edge resting on the bottom of the grave. The outer hole is then filled up with earth; and little white flags, or streamers, are stuck in order around. They likewise plant a shrub, bearing a white flower, called *coombang-anobjoor*, and in some places, wild marjoram. The women who attend the funeral make a hideous noise, not much unlike the Irish howl. On the third and seventh day, the relations perform a ceremony at the grave, called *condoned*; and at the end of twelve months, the ceremony of *teggâ battoo*, or setting up a few long, elliptical stones, at the head and foot; which being scarce in some parts of the country, bear a considerable price. On this occasion, they kill and feast on a buffalo, and leave the head to decay on the spot, as a token of the honor they have done the deceased, in eating to his memory. The burying places are called *crammat*. They are held in extraordinary reverence, and the least disturbance or violation of the ground, though all traces of the graves be obliterated; is regarded as an unpardonable sacrilege.

In works descriptive of the manners of people little known to the world; the account of their *religion*, usually constitutes an article of the first importance. Mine will labor under the contrary disadvantage. The ancient and genuine religion of the Rejangs, if in fact they ever had any, is scarcely now to be traced; and what principally adds to its obscurity, and the difficulty of getting information on the subject, is, that even those among them who have not been initiated in the principles of Mahometanism, yet regard those who have, as persons advanced a step in knowledge beyond them, and therefore hesitate to own circumstantially, that they remain still unenlightened. Ceremonies are fascinating to mankind, and without comprehending with what views they were instituted, the *profanum vulgus* naturally give them credit for something mysterious and above their capacities; and accordingly pay them a tribute of respect. With Mahometanism, a more extensive field of literature (I speak in comparison) is opened to its converts; and some additional notions of science are conveyed. These help to give it importance; though it must be confessed they are not the most pure tenets

Religion.

of that religion, which have found their way to Sumatra; nor are even the ceremonial parts very scrupulously adhered to. Many who profess to follow it, give themselves not the least concern about its injunctions, or even know what they require. A *Malay* at *Manna* upbraided a *countryman*, with the total ignorance of religion, his nation labored under. "You pay a veneration to the tombs of your ancestors: what foundation have you for supposing that your dead ancestors can lend you assistance?" "It may be true; answered the other; but what foundation have you, for expecting assistance from *Aliab* and *Mabomet*?" Are you not aware, replied the *Malay*, that it is written in a *Book*? have you not heard of the *Koraan*?" The native of *Passumnah*, with conscious inferiority, submitted to the force of this argument.

If by *religion* is meant a public or private form of worship, of any kind; and if prayers, processions, meetings, offerings, images, or priests, are any of them necessary to constitute it, I can pronounce that the *Rajangs* are totally without religion, and cannot, with propriety, be even termed *Pagans*, if that, as I apprehend, conveys the idea of mistaken worship. They neither worship God, devil, nor idol. They are not, however, without superstitious beliefs of many kinds, and have certainly a confused notion, though perhaps derived from their intercourse with other people, of some species of superior beings, who have the power of rendering themselves visible or invisible at pleasure. These they call "*orang aloos*" "fine, or impalpable men," and regard them as possessing the faculty of doing them good or evil; deprecating their wrath, as the sense of present misfortunes, or apprehension of future, prevails in their minds. But when they speak particularly of them, they call them by the appellations of "*maleykat*," and "*jinn*," which are the angels, and evil spirits of the *Arabians*, and the idea may probably have been borrowed, at the same time with the names. These are the powers they also refer to, in an oath, I have heard a *dupatty* say, "my grandfather took an oath that he would not demand the joojoor of that woman, and imprecated a curse on any of his descendants that should do it: I never have, nor could I without *fala kapada maleykat*—an offence

fence against the angels." Thus they say also, "*de tolong nebbee, malayakat*," the prophet and angels assisting." This is pure Mahometanism.

The clearest proof that they never entertained an idea of Theism, or the belief of one supreme power, is, that they have no word in their language to express the person of God, except the "*Allah tallah*" of the Malays, corrupted by them to "*Oola tallo*." Yet when questioned on the subject, they assert their ancestors knowledge of a deity, though their thoughts were never employed about him; but this evidently means no more than that their forefathers, as well as themselves, had heard of the *Allah* of the Mahometans (*Allah orang Islam*).

No name for the Deity.

They use, both in *Rejang* and *Passumab*, the word "*deway*," to express a superior, invisible class of beings; but each country acknowledges it to be of foreign derivation, and they suppose it *Javanese*. *Riddem*, of *Madura*, an island close to *Java*, who is well conversant with the religious opinions of most nations, asserted to me that "*deway*" or "*dewah*," was an original word of that country, for a superior being, which the interior *Javans* believed in; but respecting whom they used no ceremonies or forms of worship*: that they had some idea of a future life, but not as a state of retribution; conceiving immortality to be the lot of rich, rather than of good men. I recollect that an inhabitant of one of the islands farther eastward, observed to me, with great simplicity, that great men only went to the skies; how should poor men find admittance there? The *Sumatrans*, where uninfused by Mahometanism, do not appear to have any notion of a future state. Their conception of virtue or vice, extends no farther than to the immediate effect of actions, to the benefit or prejudice of society, and all such as tend not to either of these ends, are, in their estimation, perfectly indifferent.

Idea of invisible beings.

Notwithstanding what is asserted of the originality of the word "*deway*" or "*dewah*," I cannot help remarking its extreme affinity to the Persian word "*decoo*," which signifies "an evil spirit" or "bad ge-

* In the Transactions of the *Batavian Society* I have lately found a History of these *Dewahs* of the *Javans*; translated from an original MS. The mythology is childish and incoherent. The Dutch commentator supposes them to have been a race of Men held sacred, forming a species of Hierarchy, like the government of the *Lamas* in *Tartary*.

nius," and is called in our translation "*diue*". Perhaps, long antecedent to the introduction of the faith of the *Caliphs* among the eastern people, this word might have found its way, and been naturalized in the islands; or perhaps its progress was in a contrary direction. It has likewise a connexion in sound, with the names used to express a deity, or some degree of superior being, by many other people of this region of the earth. The *Battas*, inhabitants of the northern end of Sumatra, whom I shall describe hereafter, use the word "*daibattab*" or "*daivattah*;" the *Chingalese*, of Ceylon, *dewijoo*; the *Telingas*, of Indostan, *dai woondoo*; the *Bicdjoos* of Borneo, *dewattab*; the *Papooas* of New Guinea, *'wat*; and the *Pampangos*, of the Philippines, *diuata*. It bears likewise an affinity, (doubtless accidental) to the *Deus* of the Romans.

Veneration for
the manes and
tombs of their
ancestors.

The superstition which has the strongest influence on the minds of the Sumatrans and which approaches the nearest to a species of religion, is that which leads them to venerate, almost to the point of worshipping, the tombs and *manes* of their deceased ancestors (*nenmay pooyang*). These they are attached to as strongly as to life itself, and to oblige them to remove from the neighbourhood of their *crammat* (*cimetieres*), is like tearing up a tree by the roots. These, the more genuine country people regard chiefly, when they take a solemn oath, and to these they apostrophize in instances of sudden calamity. Had they the art of making images, or other representations of them, they would be perfect *lares*, *penates*, or household gods. It has been asserted to me, that in very ancient times, the Sumatrans made a practice of burning the bodies of their dead, but I could never find any traces of the custom, or any circumstances that corroborated it.

Metempsy-
chosis.

They have an imperfect notion of a Metempsychosis, but not in any degree systematic, and I doubt its having any original connexion with the doctrines of the *Hindoos*. Popular stories will often prevail, and be generally received, of such a particular man being changed into a tiger, or other beast. They think indeed that tigers in general are actuated with the spirits of departed men, and no consideration will prevail on a countryman to catch or to wound one, but in self defence, or immediately

ately after the act of destroying a friend or relation. They speak of them with a degree of awe, and hesitate to call them by their common name (*freemow*, or *macbang*), but rather, with a degree of tenderness, their *nun-way* (ancestors), or *setuo* (the old people); as really believing them such, or by way of soothing or coaxing them; as our ignorant country folk call the fairies "the good people." When an European procures traps to be set, by the means of persons less superstitious, those have been known to go at night to the place, and practise some forms, in order to persuade the animal, when caught, or when he shall perceive the bait, that it was not laid by them, or with their consent. They talk of a place in the country where the tigers have a court, and maintain a regular form of government, in towns, the houses of which are thatched with women's hair. It happened that in one month, seven or eight people were killed, by these prowling beasts, in Manna district; upon which a report became current, that fifteen hundred of them were come down from Passummah; of which number, four were without understanding (*geelo*), and having separated from the rest, ran about the country occasioning all the mischief that was felt. The Aligators, almost equally destructive, owing to the constant practice of bathing in the rivers, are regarded with nearly the same degree of religious terror. Fear is the father of superstition, by ignorance. These two animals prove the Sumatran's greatest scourge. The mischief the former commit, is incredible, whole villages being often depopulated by them. The people learn to reverence, as supernatural effects, the furious ravages of an enemy they have not resolution to oppose.

In some parts likewise; but chiefly to the southward; they superstitiously believe that certain trees, particularly those of a venerable appearance (as an old *jawee jawee* or banyan tree) are the residence, or rather the material frame of spirits of the woods: an opinion which exactly answers to the idea entertained by the ancients, of the *dryades* and *hamadryades*. At *Bencoonat*, in the *Lampoon* country, there is a long stone, standing on a flat one, supposed by the people to possess extraordinary power

Superstitious
opinions

power or virtue. It is reported to have been once thrown down into the water, and to have raised itself again to its original position; agitating the elements at the same time with a prodigious storm. To approach it without respect, they believe to be the source of misfortune to the offender.

The inland people of that country are said to pay a kind of adoration to the sea, and to make to it an offering of cakes and sweetmeats (*joadas*), on their beholding it for the first time, deprecating its power of doing them mischief. This is by no means surprizing, when we consider the natural proneness of unenlightened mankind, to regard with superstitious awe, whatever has the power of injuring them without control, and particularly when it is attended with any circumstances, mysterious and inexplicable to their understandings. The sea possesses all these qualities. Its destructive and irresistible power is often felt, and especially on the coasts of India, where tremendous surfs are constantly breaking on the shore, rising often to their greatest degree of violence, without any apparent external cause. Add to this, the flux and reflux, and perpetual ordinary motion of that element; wonderful even to philosophers who are acquainted with the cause; unaccountable to ignorant men, though long accustomed to the effects; but to those who only once or twice in their lives, have been eye witnesses to the phenomena, supernatural and divine. It must not however be understood, that any thing like a regular worship is paid to the sea, by these people, any more than we should conclude, that people in England worship witches, when they nail a horse-shoe on the threshold, to prevent their approach, or break the bottoms of egg shells, to hinder them from sailing in them. It is with the inhabitants of Lampoon no more than a temporary sentiment of fear and respect, which a little familiarity soon effaces. Many of them, indeed, imagine it endowed with a principle of voluntary motion. They tell a story of an ignorant fellow, who observing with astonishment its continual agitation, carried a vessel of sea water with him, on his return to the country, and poured it into a lake,
in

in full expectation of seeing it perform the same fanciful motions, he had admired it for, in its native bed.*

The

* The manners of the natives of the Philippine or Luzon islands correspond in so many striking particulars with those of the inland Sumatrans, and especially where they differ most from the Malays, that I think no doubt can be entertained, if not of a sameness of origin, at least of an intercourse and connexion in former times, which now no longer exists. The following instances are taken from an essay preserved by *Thevenotus*, entitled *Relation des Philippines par un religieux; traduite d'un manuscrit Espagnol du cabinet de Mons. Dom. Carlo del Penxo* (without date), and from a manuscript communicated to me by *Alex. Dalrymple, Esq.* "The chief Deity of the *Tagals* is called *Bathala mei Capal*, and also *Dinata*; and their principal idolatry consists in adoring those of their ancestors, who signalized themselves for courage or abilities; calling them *Manilagar*, i. e. *manes*. They make slaves of people who do not keep silence at the tombs of their ancestors. They have great veneration for the crocodile, which they call *nono*, signifying grandfather, and make offerings to it. Every old tree they look upon as a superior being, and think it a crime to cut it down. They worship also stones, rocks, and points of land, shooting arrows at these last as they pass them. They have priests, who, at their sacrifices, make many contortions and grimaces, as if possessed with a devil. The first man and woman, they say, were produced from a *bamboo*, which burst in the island of *Sumatra*; and they quarrelled about their marriage. The people mark their bodies in various figures, and render them of the color of ashes: have large holes in their ears: blacken and file their teeth, and make an opening which they fill up with gold: they used to write from top to bottom, till the Spaniards taught them to write from left to right: bamboos and palm leaves serve them for paper. They cover their houses with straw, leaves of trees, or bamboos split in two, which serve for tiles. They hire people to sing and weep at their funerals; burn benjamin; bury their dead on the third day in strong coffins; and sometimes kill slaves to accompany their deceased masters."

The latter account is more particular, and appears of modern date.

** These Indians have no custom of perpetuating the names of families; but on the birth of a child, the mothers named it from some accidental circumstance, as *Malivag*, or difficult, because the birth was such; *Malaccas* or strong, because it appeared to be a strong child: and at other times they gave them the first name that occurred, as *Daan*, a road. These names continued until the children were grown up and married, and then the son or daughter gave a surname to their parents. Others, who had no children, invited their relations and acquaintance to an entertainment, when they received another name or appellation, called *pamogat*, founded, by some metaphor, on their first name; as when this was *Bacal*, or iron, the *pamogat* would be *Dimalanassan*, or he that cannot be destroyed by time; *Bayani*, or valiant, they surnamed *Dimalapitan*, he whom no one dares attack. It was a custom also amongst them to call one another by correlative names, founded on some particular transaction; as if one had given another a sweet *basil*, these called each other *Casolash*, which is the name of the thing given.

The

The Sumatrans are firmly persuaded that various particular persons; are, what they term "*bctooak*" (sacred, impassive, invulnerable, not liable

The excessive indolence and supineness of this people, is evident from their having no written account of their religion, government, or history. All their knowledge therein was founded on tradition, or handed from father to son in songs, which they repeat in their *voyages, feasts, and funerals*. In these ballads are related the fabulous genealogy and deeds of their gods and great men. Superior to the rest of their deities, they worshipped one whom the *Tagalas* called *Bathala Meycapal*, which signifies God the Maker. They adored also the sun, moon, and rainbow, and different kinds of animals and birds. They revered a blue bird of the size of a starling, to which also they attributed the name of *Bathala*, and adored the crow, calling it *Meylupa*, or lord of the earth; they held the *caiman*, or alligator, in great reverence, and when they saw him they called him *nons*, or grandfather, praying with great tenderness that he would do them no harm, and to this end, offered him of whatever they had in their boats, throwing it into the water. There was not an old tree to which they did not offer divine worship, especially that called *balite*; and even at this time they have some respect for them. Beside these they had certain idols inherited from their ancestors, which the *Tagalas* called *Anito*, and the *Bisayans*, *Divata*. Some of these were for the mountains and plains, and they asked their leave when they would pass them: others for the corn fields, and to these they recommend them, that they might be fertile, placing meat and drink in the fields for the use of the *Anitos*. There was one, of the sea, who had care of their fishing and navigation; another of the house, whose favor they implored at the birth of a child, and under whose protection they placed it. They made *Anitos* also of their deceased ancestors, and to these were their first invocations in all difficulties and dangers. They reckoned amongst these beings, all those who were killed by lightning or alligators, or had any disastrous death, and believed that they were carried up to the happy state, by the rainbow, which they call *Balan-gao*. In general they endeavored to attribute this kind of divinity to their fathers, when they died in years, and the old men, vain with this barbarous notion, affected in their sickness a gravity and composure of mind, as they conceived, more than human, because they thought themselves commencing *Anitos*. They were to be interred at places marked out by themselves, that they might be discovered at a distance and worshipped. The Missionaries have had great trouble in demolishing their tombs and idols, but the Indians, inland, still continue the custom of *passing tabi sa nons*, or asking permission of their dead ancestors, when they enter any wood, mountain or corn field, for hunting or sowing; and if they omit this ceremony, imagine their *nons* will punish them with bad fortune. They had no temples or places of worship, but the idols were placed in their houses, or some cave, or like place, with a pan of incense burning before them; but they had great numbers of priests and priestesses, which the *Tagalas* called *Catolonan* and the *Bisayans*, *Babaylan*. Their sacrifices had different ceremonies, agreeable to the occasion of making them. If it was in compliment to any of their chiefs, they called it, for greater ostentation, the feast of *Bathala Meycapal*, and they raised an arbor before the house, ornamented with different colored cloths, in which the guests assembled, and the *Catolonan* or priestess ordered a girl of the best appearance among them, to kill the animal, which was brought for this purpose; accompanied with music and dancing. The beast being killed,

was

liable to accident); and this quality they sometimes extend to things inanimate; as ships and boats. Such an opinion, which we should suppose

was dressed and divided amongst them, with several other dishes, after their use; but this was the most esteemed, and eaten with great reverence and respect. The ceremony concluded with copious libations, and songs. If the sacrifice was made for a sick person, the priest ordered a new house or arbor to be built at his expence, capable of celebrating it, and removed him thither. They brought the sacrifice near him, which was sometimes a slave, but most commonly some land animal or sea-turtle, and having placed him on a mat, with several dishes of meat round him, the priestess dancing about him with little bells, wounded the animal, and anointed the man with its blood; after which they drew it aside, and the priestess muttering certain words, opened it, and examined the entrails with great care: then distorting her features, and making various motions with her feet and hands, and foaming at the mouth, she pretended for some time to be in an ecstasy: when she came to herself, she foretold the fate of the sick man. If she prophesied his recovery, they fell to eating, drinking, and singing the history of his ancestors, and the praise of his *Anito*; but when his death was foretold, the priestess soothed the bad news with a recital of the virtues and valor of the sick person, whom, she said, the *Anitos* had chosen to be one of themselves, and immediately recommended herself and all the family, that he might remember them in his new state; and from thence forward she obliged his friends to treat and regard him as an *Anito*. The whole ended with eating the most delicious parts of the sacrifice. Those who were present, usually gave some gratuity of gold, cottons, or other things, according to their abilities; which were for the priest or priestess who ministered the sacrifice; so that they were generally well dressed, and wore jewels and other ornaments: but notwithstanding this, at other times they were little reputed or esteemed amongst the Indians, who looked on them as drones who lived by the labor of others.

Their notions of the creation of the world, and formation of mankind, had something ridiculously extravagant. They believed that the world at first consisted only of sky and water, and between these two, a *Glede*; which weary with flying about, and finding no place to rest, set the water at variance with the sky, which, in order to keep it in bounds, and that it should not get uppermost, loaded the water with a number of islands, in which the *Glede* might settle and leave them at peace. Mankind, they said, sprung out of a large cane with two joints, that floating about in the water, was at length thrown by the waves against the feet of the *Glede*, as it stood on the shore, which opened it with its bill, and the man came out of one joint, and the woman out of the other. These were soon after married by consent of their God, *Bathala Meyenpal*, which caused the first trembling of the earth; and from thence are descended the different nations of the world.

The foregoing description does not belong to the barbarous and savage race of people, living in the mountains, who are of the color and size of the Hottentots of the Cape of Good Hope: like them they have short twisted hair, and daub their bodies all over with grease and ashes: their only clothing is made of the rind of trees, with which they cover their middle, besides some bracelets

pose every man might have an opportunity of bringing to the test of truth, affords a humiliating proof of the weakness and credulity of human nature, and the fallibility of testimony, when a film of prejudice obscures the light of the understanding. I have known two men, whose honesty, good faith, and reasonableness in the general concerns of life were well established, and whose assertions would have weight in transactions of consequence: these men I have heard maintain, with the most deliberate confidence, and an appearance of inward conviction of their own sincerity, that they had more than once, in the course of their wars, attempted to run their weapons into the naked body of their adversary, which they found impenetrable; their points being continually and miraculously turned, without any effort on the part of the *orang betooah*: and that hundreds of instances, of the like nature, where the invulnerable man did not possess the smallest natural means of opposition, had come within their observation. An English officer, with more courage and humor, than discretion, exposed one imposture of this kind. A man having boasted in his presence, that he was endowed with this supernatural privilege, the officer took an opportunity of applying to his arm the point of a sword, and drew the blood; to the no little di-

curiously made of rattans; and for marks of distinction they have garlands composed of feathers. Their weapons are bows and arrows, and a large thick knife. In some respects they resemble the savages of North America, for their greatest ambition is to drink out of the skulls of their enemies, after having scalped them. They live mostly on fruits, and roots, in the woods, and when they meet with any game they make a feast, and after tiring themselves with dancing, sleep together in heaps, like brutes, in the open air. They have neither letters, laws, nor other government, than that every family is subject to its head, and their only care is to defend their districts, about which they have frequent and bloody wars. Formerly, as natural lords of the country, they obliged the people who settled in the low lands, to pay them a tribute for the use of the woods and rivers. In different parts of the island they have different names, but the Spaniards in general call them *Negritos del monte*, some of them being as black as the natives of *Guinea*, particularly in the *Isla de Negros*. It is believed that they were the original inhabitants of the islands, but it is a matter of some difficulty to discover from whence this race, so different in color and customs from all the neighbouring people, could proceed; if it is not allowed that their different aliment, and being continually exposed to the weather, would produce this effect. The more civilized nations before described, whom the Spaniards call the Indians, are a robust, well made people, fair, but inclined to copper color, with flattish noses, black eyes and hair.

version

version of the spectators, and mortification of the pretender to superior gifts, who vowed revenge, and would have taken it, had not means been used to keep him at a distance. But a single detection of *charlatanerie*, is not effectual to destroy a prevalent superstition. These impostors are usually found among the Malays, and not the more simple country people.

No attempts, I have reason to think, have ever been made by missionaries, or others, to convert the inhabitants of the island to Christianity, and I have much doubt, whether the most zealous and able would meet with any permanent success in this pious work. Of the many thousands baptized in the eastern islands by the celebrated *Francis Xavier*, in the sixteenth century, not one of their descendants are now found to retain a ray of the light imparted to them; and probably, as it was novelty only, and not conviction, that induced the original converts to embrace a new faith, the impression lasted no longer than the sentiment which recommended it, and disappeared as rapidly as the itinerant apostle. Portuguese and Christians are confounded, in the Malay language, under the same general name; the former being called "*orang Zerani*," by corruption for "*Nazerani*." This neglect of missions to Sumatra is one cause that the country has been so little known to the civilized world.

No Missionaries.

The country of Lampoon and its inhabitants—Language—Government—Wars—Peculiar customs—Religion.

HAVING thus far spoken of the manners and customs of the *Rajangs* more especially, and adverted, as occasion served, to those of the *Passummah* people, who nearly resemble them, I shall now present a cursory view of those circumstances in which the inhabitants of the *Lampoon* country differ from them; though this dissimilitude is not very considerable.

Limits of the
Lampoon
country.

By the *Lampoon* country is understood, a portion of the southern extreme of the island, beginning, on the west coast, at the river of *Padang-goochie*, which divides it from *Passummah*, and extending across as far as *Palembang*, on the north east side, at which last place, the settlers are mostly *Javans*. On the south and east sides, it is washed by the sea, having several ports in the straits of *Sunda*, particularly *Keyser* and *Lampoon* bays; and the great river *Tcolang bouang* runs through the heart of it, rising from a considerable lake (*ranou*) between the ranges of mountains. That division of *Lampoon* which is included by *Padang-goochie* and a place called *Nassall*, is distinguished by the name of *Briuran*, and from thence southward to Flat-point, by that of *Laout-cawoor*; although *Cawoor*, properly so called, lies in the northern division.

Inhabitants.

The country of *Lampoon* is best inhabited in the central and mountainous parts, where the people live independent, and in some measure secure from the inroads of their eastern neighbours, the *Javans*, who, from about *Palembang* and the straits, frequently attempt to molest them. It is probably within but a very few centuries, that the south-west coast of this country has been the habitation of any considerable number of people; and it has been still less visited by strangers, owing to the unsheltered nature of the sea thereabouts, and want of soundings, in general, which renders the navigation wild and dangerous for country vessels;

vessels; and to the rivers being small and rapid, with shallow bars and almost ever a high surf. If you ask the Lampon people of these parts, whence they originally came from; they answer, from the hills, and point out an inland place near the great lake, from whence, they say, their forefathers emigrated: and further than this it is impossible to trace. They, of all the Sumatrans, have the strongest resemblance to the Chinese, particularly in the roundness of face, and construction of the eyes. They are also the fairest people of the island, and the women are the tallest, and esteemed the most handsome.

Their language differs considerably from that of the Rejangs, and the characters they use are peculiar to themselves; as may be observed in the specimens exhibited. Language.

The titles of government are *Pangeran* (from the *Javans*), *Careeco*, Government. and *Kiddimong* or *Nebeebee*; the latter nearly answering to *dupatty* among the *Rejangs*. The district of *Croee*, near Mount *Pogong*, is governed by five magistrates, called *Pangow-lemo*, and a sixth, superior, called by way of eminence, *Pangow*; but their authority is said to be usurped, and is often disputed. The word, in common, signifies a gladiator or prize-fighter. The *pangeran* of *Sooko*, in the hills, is computed to have four or five thousand dependants, and sometimes, on going a journey, he levies a *tallee*, or eighth part of a dollar, on each family; which shews his authority to be more arbitrary, and probably more strictly feudal, than among the *Rejangs*, where the government is rather patriarchal. This difference has doubtless its source in the wars and invasions to which the former people are exposed.

The *Javense* banditti, as has been observed, often advance into the Wars. country, and commit depredations on the inhabitants, who are not, in general, a match for them. They do not make use of fire arms, though in the northern part of the island they are manufactured. Beside the common weapons of the country, they fight with a long lance, which is carried by three men; the foremost guiding the point, and covering himself

himself and his companions with a large shield. A compact body, thus armed, would have been a counter part of the *Macedonian* phalanx; but can prove, I should apprehend, of but little use among a people, with whom war is carried on in a desultory manner, and more in the way of ambuscade, than of general engagement, in which alone troops so armed could act with effect.

Inland of *Samanka*, in the Straits of *Sunda*, there is a district, say the *Lampoons*, inhabited by a ferocious people, who are a terror to the neighbouring country. Their mode of atoning for offences against their own community, is by bringing to their doosoon the heads of strangers. The account may be true, but without further authentication such stories are not to be too implicitly credited, on the faith of a people who are fond of the marvellous, and addicted to exaggeration.*

Manners.

The manners of the *Lampoons* are more free, or rather licentious, than those of any other native Sumatrans. An extraordinary liberty of intercourse is allowed between the young people of different sexes, and the loss of female chastity is not a very uncommon consequence. The offence is there, however, thought more lightly of, and instead of punishing the parties, as in *Passumab* and elsewhere, they prudently endeavor to conclude a legal match between them. But if this is not effected, the lady still continues to wear the *insignia* of virginity, the fillet and armrings, and takes her place as such, at festivals. It is not only on these public occasions, that the young men and women have opportunities of forming arrangements, as in most other parts of the island. They frequently associate together at other times; and the former are seen gallantly reclining in the maiden's lap, whispering soft nonsense, whilst she adjusts and perfumes his hair, or does a friendly office, of less delicacy to an European apprehension. At *bimbangs*, the women often put on their dancing dress in the public hall, letting that garment

* Till within a few years the *Lampoon* people believed the inhabitants of the island *Engana* to be all females, who were impregnated by the wind; like the mares in Virgil's *georgics*. They styled them, in the Malay language, *Ana Saytas*, or imps of the devil.

which

which they mean to lay aside, dexterously drop from under, as the other passes over the head; but sometimes, with an air of coquetry, displaying, as if by chance, enough to warm youthful imaginations. Both men and women anoint themselves before company, when they prepare to dance; the women, their necks and arms, and the men their breasts. They also paint each others faces; not, seemingly, with a view of heightening, or imitating the natural charms, but merely as matter of fashion; making fantastic spots with the finger, on the forehead, temples, and cheeks, of white, red, yellow, and other hues. A brass salver (*tallam*) covered with little china cups, containing a variety of paints, is served up for this purpose.

Instances have happened, though rarely, of very disagreeable conclusions to bimbangs here. A party of *reesows* among the young fellows, have been known suddenly to extinguish the lights, for the purpose of robbing the girls, not of their chastity, as might be apprehended, but of the gold and silver ornaments of their persons. An outrage of this nature I imagine could only happen in *Lampoon*, where their vicinity to *Java* affords the culprits easier and surer means of escape, than in the central parts of the island; and here too their companies appear to be more mixed, collected from greater distances, and not composed, as with the *Rejang* people, of a neighbourly assemblage of the old men of a few contiguous doosoons, with their sons and daughters, for the sake of convivial mirth, of celebrating a particular domestic event, and promoting attachments and courtships amongst the young people.

In every doosoon there is appointed a youth, well fitted by nature and education for the office, who acts as master of the ceremonies at their public meetings, arranges the young men and women in their proper places, makes choice of their partners, and regulates all other circumstances of the assembly, except the important œconomy of the festival part or cheer, which comes under the cognizance of one of the elders. Both parts of the entertainment are preceded by long, complimentary speeches, delivered by the respective stewards, who, in return, are answered and complimented

Particular customs.

complimented on their skill, liberality, and other qualities, by some of the best bred amongst the guests. Though the manner of conducting, and the appendages of the *Lampoon* feasts, are superior in style, to the rustic hospitality of some of the northern countries; yet they are esteemed to be much behind these, in the goodness and mode of dressing their food. The *Lampoons* eat almost all kinds of flesh, indiscriminately, and their *goolies* (curries or made dishes) are said, by connoisseurs, to have no flavor. They serve up the rice, divided into portions for each person, contrary to the practice in the other countries; the *tallam* being covered with a handsome, crimson napkin, manufactured for that use. They are wont to entertain strangers with much more profusion, than is met with in the rest of the island. If the guest is of any consequence, they do not hesitate to kill, beside goats and fowls, a buffalo, or several, according to the period of his stay, and the number of his attendants. One man has been known to entertain a person of rank and his suite, for sixteen days, during which time there were not less than an hundred dishes of rice spread each day, containing, some one, some two bamboos. They have dishes here, of a species of china or earthen ware called "*battoo bancuang*," brought from the eastward; remarkably heavy, and very dear; some of them being valued at forty dollars apiece. The breaking one of them, is a family loss of no small importance.

Reception of
Strangers.

Abundantly more ceremony is used among these people, at interviews with strangers, than takes place in the countries adjacent to them. Not only the chief person of a party travelling, but every one of his attendants, is obliged, upon arriving at a town, to give a formal account of their business, or occasion of coming that way. When the principal man of the doosoon is acquainted by the stranger with the motives of his journey, he repeats his speech at full length, before he gives an answer; and if it is a person of great consequence, the words must pass through two or three mouths, before they are supposed to come with sufficient ceremony to his ears. This in fact has more the air of adding to his own importance and dignity, than to that of the guest; but it is not in Sumatra alone, that respect is manifested by this seeming contradiction.

The

The terms of the *joojoor*, or equivalent for wives, is the same here, *Marriages.* nearly, as with the *Rejangs*. The creese-head is not essential to the bargain, as among the people of *Passummab*. The father of the girl never admits of the *pootoos tallee kooloo*, or whole sum being paid, and thereby withholds from the husband, in any case, the right of felling his wife, who, in the event of a divorce, returns to her relations. Where the *pootoos tallee* is allowed to take place, he has a property in her little differing from that of a slave, as formerly observed. The particular sums which constitute the *joojoor* are less complex here, than at other places. The value of the maiden's golden trinkets is nicely estimated, and her *joojoor* regulated according to that, and the rank of her parents. The *semunda* marriage scarcely ever takes place but among poor people, where there is no property on either side, or in the case of a slip in the conduct of the female, when the friends are glad to make up a match in this way, instead of demanding a price for her. Instances have occurred, however, of countrymen of rank affecting a *semunda* marriage, in order to imitate the Malay manners; but it has been looked upon as improper, and liable to create confusion.

The fines and compensation for murder are in every respect the same, as in the countries already described.

The Mahometan religion has made considerable progress amongst the *Religion.* *Lampoons*, and most of their villages have mosques in them: yet an attachment to the original superstitions of the country, induces them to regard with particular veneration the *crammats*, or burying places of their fathers, which they piously adorn, and cover in from the weather.

Malay governments—Empire of Menangkabow—Extent of the Sultan's ancient and present power—His titles—Literature and Arts amongst the people—Period of conversion to Mahometanism—General acceptance of the word Malay—Constitution of their States—Bencoolen—Indrapour—Anac Soongey—Palembang—Jambee, &c.

Malays.

I SHALL now take a view of the *Malay* governments, as distinguished from those of the more genuine Sumatrans, who, by the Malays, are named *orang ooloo*, or countrymen, and sometimes, *orang doo-foon*, from their residing in villages so called.

Empire of Menangkabow.

The principal seat of empire of the Malays, and of the whole island, is *Menangkabow*. This lies near the center, extending partly to the northward, but chiefly to the southward of the equinoctial, about sixty or an hundred miles. Such are the limits that now confine a monarchy, whose jurisdiction formerly comprehended all Sumatra, and whose sovereignty was talked of with respect in the furthest parts of the east. The country is, generally speaking, a large plain, bounded by hills, clear of woods, and, comparatively, well cultivated. It has an easy communication with both sides of the island, lying nearer to the western coast, but having the advantage, to the east, of the large rivers, *Racan*, *Indergereee*, *Siak*, *Jambee*, and even *Palembang*, with which it is said to have connexion, by means of a lake, that gives source to the two last, as well as to the river of *Cattown* on the opposite side. Colonies of *Malays* from *Menangkabow*, are settled on several branches of *Jambee* river, or rather those small rivers which run into it, of *Leemoon*, *Batang Assy*, *Pacallang-jamboo*, and some others. Here they collect large quantities of gold.

The name of *Menangkabow* is said to be derived from the words "*menang*," to win, and "*carlow*," a buffalo; from a story, which carries a very fabulous air, of a famous engagement on that spot, between
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the buffalos and tigers ; in which the former are reported to have acquired a complete victory. Such is the account the natives give ; but they are fond of dealing in fiction, and I am apt to suppose that the etymology has no better foundation than a fanciful resemblance in the sound.*

The actual power and resources of the Sultan, are at this day, scarcely superior to those of a common *raja*; yet he still asserts all his ancient rights and prerogatives ; which are not disputed so long as he refrains from attempting to carry them into force. The kings of *Acbeon*, *Indrapour*, *Moco Moco*, *Palembang* and *Jambee*, acknowledge their authority to be derived from him, as their lord paramount, and some among them pay him a trifling complimentary tribute ; acting, however, entirely independent of him. His character is held in a sacred light, and the obscurity and air of mystery which surround his court, together with the influence of the Mahometan priests, who regard him as the head of their religion, keep up this veneration. In short, his authority not a little resembles that of the sovereign pontiffs in Europe, some years back, founded as it is on superstitious opinion ; holding terrors over the weak, and contemned by the strong. He attempts to effect, what arms alone can accomplish, by pompous, dictatorial edicts, which are received with outward demonstration of profound respect, but no further obeyed than may happen to be consistent with the political interests of those princes to whom they are addressed. This empire is looked upon by the Sumatrans to have subsisted from the remotest antiquity ; but as they have no annals, records, or other historical documents, it is impossible to make even a guess as to its origin. There cannot be a doubt but that it is extremely ancient, having every internal evidence, and being acknowledged such by every tradition. When the Europeans first made discoveries in these parts, it was in its decline, as appears from the importance and independence, at that time, of the kings of *Acbeon*, *Pedeer* and *Pasay*, the

Power of the
Sultan.

* Some map-makers have placed the name of *Manancaubo* in the center of the peninsula of *Malacca*, instead of the island of *Sumatra*.

former of whom holds a grant under the Sultan of *Menangkabow*, of the sea coast, as far southward as *B. secoulao*; though in 1613 his possessions extended no farther than to *Barroes*, and his actual claims did not reach beyond *Padang*. All the early navigators who frequented this island, of whom the most intelligent and inquisitive was certainly the French commodore, *Beaulieu*, who arrived in 1620, speak of *Menangkabow*, either directly or indirectly, as a place of the greatest importance; particularly on account of the gold trade carried on, and almost monopolized by its inhabitants, and their supplying the neighbouring countries with creeses, fire arms, and cloth. As they could have no immediate connexion with an inland power, and the princes with whom their commercial concerns lay, would not be forward to set forth the consequences of another state, by a comparison with which their own must suffer, the accounts which navigators give of this empire are obscure and imperfect, and but for the gold which flowed from it towards the sea coasts, it probably would have passed unnoticed in the histories of their voyages. The commodore speaks of the kings of *Acheen*, *Palembang*, and *Indrapour*, as independent sovereigns, but as these owed the delegation of their authority from *Menangkabow*, it only proves that they had, by that period, shaken off their subjection to an empire, then declining from its meridian, and sinking in the gulph of time.*

In

* The following instances have occurred to me, of mention made by writers, at different periods, of the kingdom of *Menangkabow*. Odoardus Barboza, 1519. Ramusio. "Sumatra, a most large and beautiful island, *Padir* the principal city; then *Pucem*, *Achem*, and *Campar*. *Menangkabo* in the center, which is the principal fountain of gold—Linschooten, 1579. "At *Menangkabo*, excellent poignards made, called *creeses*; best weapons of all the orient. Islands along the coast of Sumatra, called islands of *Menangkabo*. You must run between the *ilhas d'Ouro* and the land. Put into the island called *ilha d'Ouro, de Menangkabo*, a high and fair land."—Mendez de Pinto, 1558. "Mentions soldiers of *Menangkabo* in an army that invaded *Acheen* in 1599. Gold transported from *Menangkabo* to the kingdom of *Campar*, on the waters of *Jambou* and *Broto*"—Lancaster, 1602. "Menangkabo lies eight or ten leagues inland of *Priaman*"—Bell, 1613. "A man arrived from *Menangkaboo* at *Ticoo*, and brought news from *Jamber*."—Beaulieu, 1622. "To the eastward of *Padang* lies the kingdom of *Maninkaba*. The most powerful king of the *aborigines* resides between that place and *Ticoo*, being possessed of the country that produces gold, which is trucked with the inhabitants of *Menangkabo*, for rice, arms, and cloth."—De Barros: published about 1558. "Malacca had the epithet of *aurea* given to it, on account of the

In later days, the influence of the Dutch, whose settlement of *Padang* lies in the neighbourhood, has greatly contributed to the undermining the political consequence of its monarch, by giving countenance and support to his disobedient vassals: who, in their turn, have often experienced the dangerous effects of receiving favors from too powerful an ally. *Rajah Canallee*, who was his viceroy of *Passamman*, maintained a long war with the Hollanders, which was attended with many reverses of fortune.

The titles and epithets assumed by the Sultans, in the preambles to their edicts and letters, are the most extravagantly absurd that it is possible to imagine; surpassing, in wildness and folly, the preternatural attributes of the Persian *genii* and *djins*. Many of them descend to mere childishness; and it is difficult to conceive how any people, so far advanced in civilization, as to be able to write, could possibly display such evidences of barbarism. A specimen of a warrant of recent date, sent to *Toomay Seengy Pague*, a high priest residing near *Bencoolen*, is as follows.

the abundance of gold carried thither from *Menacabo* and *Barroes*, countries in *Camatra*—Herbert's travels: printed 1677. "Mediterranean town *Menacabo*, formerly called *Synde Cande*"—Argensola, 1586. "Crises made at *Minangcabb*, and cannon cast, many years before the Europeans arrived in the country."—*Vies de Gouverneurs Generaux Hollandois*. "West Coast of Sumatra brought under subjection to the Dutch in 1664, by the fleet of Pierre de Bitter, from *Silabar* to *Barroes*. *Padang* settlement established in 1667. The commandant of *Padang* is *Stadhouder* to the Emperor of *Manincabo*. Revolts in the country in the years 1665, 1670, 1680, and 1713." Diogo de Couto, 1600. He gives an account of a Portuguese ship wrecked on the coast of Sumatra, near to the country of *Manacabo*; in 1560. Six hundred persons got on shore, among whom were some women, one of whom, *Dona Francisca Sardinha*, was of such remarkable beauty, that the people of the country resolved to carry her off for their king; and they effected it, after a struggle in which sixty of the Europeans lost their lives. At this period there was a great intercourse between *Minangcabbow* and *Makura*; many vessels going yearly with gold, to purchase cotton goods and other merchandize. In ancient times the country was so rich in this metal, that several hundred weight (*Jeis, sete, e mais candix, de que tres sacos hum moyo*) used to be exported in one season. Vol. 3. p. 278.

(Three circular seals with
these inscriptions in
Arabic characters.)

(Eldesi brother.)

Sultan of *Rome*.

Key Dummoal Allum.

Maharaja Alliff.

(Second brother.)

Sultan of *China*.

Nour Allum.

Mabaraja Dempo,

(Youngest brother.)

Sultan of *Menangcabow*.

Aour Allum.

Mabaraja de Raja.*

Copy of a war-
rant.

"The Sultan of *Menangcabow*, whose residence is at *Paga-oojoeng*; (after pardon asked for presuming to mention his name) who is king of kings, son of *Raja Izouderzakar-nainny*, and was possessed of *Muncoto*, who was brought from heaven by the prophet *Adam*; master of the third of the wood *maccummat*, one of whose properties is to enable matter to fly; of the lance ornamented with the beard of *Jangee*; of the palace of the city of *Rome*, whose entertainments and diversions are exhibited in the month of *Dul-hadjee*, and where all *Alims*, *Pukkeebas*, (faquirs) and *Moulabuocarrees*, praise and supplicate God; of the gold of twelve grains, named *soodarat soodaratee*, resembling a man; who receives his taxes in gold by the *lessong* (quasi bushel) measure; whose betel-stand is of gold, set with diamonds; who is possessed of the sword, named *chooree-se-mendong-geree*, which has an hundred and ninety gaps, made in the conflict with the arch-devil, *Se Catee-moono*, whom it slew; who is master of fresh water in the ocean, to the extent of a day's sailing; possessed of a lance formed of a twig of *ejoo*; of a *calewang* wrapped in an unmade *chinday*; of a *creese* formed of the soul of steel, which, by a noise, expresses an unwillingness at being sheathed, and shews itself pleased when drawn; of a date coeval with the creation; possessed of a gun brought from heaven named

* The name of *Aour Allum* is the *dagging*, and *Mabaraja de Raja*, the *galar*, agreeably to the definition before explained.

named *seubahanabououatanalla*; of a horse of the race of *serimboraknee*, superior to all others; sultan of the burning mountain, and of the mountains *goontang-goontang*, which divide *Palembang* and *Jambee*; who may slay at pleasure, without being guilty of a crime; who is possessed of the elephant named *Settee dewa*; who is vicegerent of heaven; sultan of the golden river; lord of the air and clouds; master of a *balli*, whose pillars are of the shrub *jelattang*; of *gandang*s (drums) made of hollowed branches of the minute shrubs *pooloot* and *seelofooree*; of the *gong* that resounds to the skies; of the buffalo named *Se Binnooang Sattce*, whose horns are ten feet asunder; of the unconquered cock, *Sengoonanee*; of the coconut tree, whose amazing height, and being infested with serpents and other noxious reptiles, render it impossible to be climbed; of the flower named *seeree menjeree*, of ambrosial scent; who, when he goes to sleep, wakes not till the *gandang nobat* sounds; one of whose eyes is as the sun, and the other as the moon.——To his subjects declares this his will, &c.*

Probably

* The following Letter from the sultan of *Menancabow* to the father of the present sultan of *Moco*, and apparently written about fifty years ago, was communicated to me by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq. and though it is in part a repetition, I esteem it too curious to hesitate about inserting it. The style is much more rational than that of the foregoing,

“ Praised be Almighty God! Sultan *Gaggar Allam* the great and noble King, whose extensive power reacheth unto the limits of the wide ocean; unto whom God grants whatever he desires, and over whom no evil spirit, nor even Satan himself has any influence; who is invested with an authority to punish evil doers; and has the most tender heart in the support of the innocent; hath no malice in his mind, but preserveth the righteous with the greatest reverence, and nourisheth the poor and needy, feeding them daily from his own table. His authority reacheth over the whole universe, and his candor and goodness is known to all men. (Mention made of the three brothers.) The ambassador of God and his prophet Mahomet; the beloved of mankind; and ruler of the island called *Percbe*. At the time God made the heavens, the earth, the sun, the moon, and even before Evil Spirits were created, this sultan *Gaggar Allam* had his residence in the clouds; but when the world was habitable, God gave him a bird called *Hocinet*, that had the gift of speech; this he sent down on earth, to look out for a spot where he might establish an inheritance, and the first place he alighted upon was the fertile island of *Lancapere*, situated between *Palimbaz* and *Jambee*, and from thence sprang the famous kingdom of *Manancabow*, which will be renowned and mighty until the Judgment Day.

“ This *Maha-Rajah Doorja* is blessed with a long life, and an uninterrupted course of prosperity, which he will maintain in the name, and through the grace of the holy prophet, to the end that God's

Probably no records upon earth, can furnish an example of more unintelligible jargon: yet these attributes are believed to be indisputably

God's divine Will may be fulfilled upon earth. He is endowed with the highest abilities, and the most profound wisdom and circumspection in the governing the many tributary kings and subjects. He is righteous and charitable, and preserveth the honor and glory of his ancestors. His justice and clemency are felt in distant regions, and his name will be revered until the last day. When he openeth his mouth he is full of goodness, and his words are as grateful as rose water to the thirsty. His breath is like the soft wind of the heavens (*Janatool Ferdors*), and his lips are the instruments of truth; sending forth perfumes more delightful than benzoin or myrrh. His nostrils breathe ambergris and musk; and his countenance has the lustre of diamonds. He is dreadful in battle, and not to be conquered, his courage and valor being matchless. He, the sultan *Maha Rajah Doorja*, was crowned with a sacred crown from God; and possesses the wood called *Kamat*, in conjunction with the emperors of *Rome* and *China*. He is the sultan that keeps the cloth called *Sanyas Kallab*, which weaves itself, and adds one thread yearly of fine pearls; and when that cloth shall be finished, the world will be no more. He also possesses the tree *Negareena*, and a kind of gold called *Jatta Jatte*, which is so heavy that a small lump will snap the *Datt* wood. This is the sultan that enjoys the sword *Se Mandang Gory*, which has one hundred and ninety wide notches in the field of battle, and is the weapon that killed the spirit of *Katte Moons*; the dagger known by the name of *Hangin Cinga* is also his, and will, at his command, fight of itself, with which he has vanquished many nations. He also possesses the lance *Lambing Lambora*, the blade of which, called *Sger*, was given him by an inhabitant of the sea. He likewise has horses of infinite strength and courage; and mountains of spontaneous fire. This is the sultan who keeps the flower *Chungake* that is blue, and to be found in no other country but his (being yellow elsewhere). He possesses the shrub *Sera Mangeres*, and the reed *Bruer Priandis*, to which birds of all countries come at the time of their death. He has also drums made of the tree *Silgrees*, and another instrument of the like nature of the wood called *Poless-poless*, which send their sound through his whole dominions whenever they are beat. He has a *Burba* house built of the hallowed wood *Ylatang*, and each beam in it, though strong and large, is yet as light as bamboo. He also possesses a carpet made of grass, and a lump of gold in the shape of a man, given him by a God of the woods.

"After this salutation, and the information I have given of my greatness and power, which I attribute to the good and holy prophet Mahomet, I am to acquaint you with the commands of the sultan whose presence bringeth death to all who attempt to approach him without permission; and also those of the sultan of *Indragore*, who has four breasts. This friendly sheet of paper is brought from the two sultans above named, by their bird *Ongas*, unto their son, sultan *Gendaw Shab*, to acquaint him with their intention, under this great seal, which is, that they order their son sultan *Gendaw Shab* to oblige the English Company to settle in the district called *Bingawer*, at a place called the "field of sheep," that they may not have occasion to be ashamed at their frequent refusal of our goodness, in permitting them to trade with us and with our subjects; and that in case he cannot succeed in this affair, we hereby advise him, that the ties of friendship

subsiding.

tably true, by the Malays residing at a distance from his immediate dominions, who possess a greater degree of faith than wit; and with this addition, that he dwells in a palace without covering, free from inconvenience.

The seals prefixed to his warrant, beside his own, are those of the Sultan of *Rome*, or *Grand Signior*, (the empire of the *Romans* having been transferred to *Constantinople*) who is looked upon, since the ruin of the *Caliphs*, as the head of the Mahometan religion, and whom he honors with the title of his eldest brother; and of the Sultan of *Cbina*, a kingdom well known throughout the eastern seas, and by the Malays called *Negree Cbeeno*, whom he styles his second brother; modestly regarding himself as the youngest. This gives a picture of the conception these monarchs formed of their relative importance in the world, and shews the extent, if not the accuracy, of their geographical and historical knowledge.

The royal salute, is one gun; which is a refinement in ceremony. As no number could be supposed to convey an adequate idea of respect, but must, on the contrary, establish a definite proportion between his dignity, and that of his nobles, or of other princes, the Sultan of *Menangcabow* chuses to leave the measure of his importance indefinite by this policy—and save his gunpowder. It must be observed, that the Malays are in general extremely fond of the parade of firing cannon, which they never neglect on high days, and on the appearance of the new moon; particularly that which marks the commencement of their *poosoffo*, or annual fast. Yellow being esteemed a royal color, is said to be constantly, and exclusively, worn by the Sultan and his court. His usual present on sending an embassy (for no Sumatran has an idea of

Ceremonies.

subsisting between us and our son, are broken; and we direct that he send us an answer immediately, that we may know the result, and take our measures accordingly—for all this island is our own."

It is difficult to determine, whether the preamble, or the purport of the letter, be the more extraordinary.

N n

making

making a formal address, on any occasion, without a present in hand, be it never so trifling) is a pair or more of white horses; being emblematic of the purity of his character and intentions. The relations of the royal family, and many who have no pretensions to it assume that distinction, are treated, wherever they appear, not only with the most profound respect, but in some parts of the island, independent in other points, with such a degree of superstitious veneration, that the country people submit to be insulted, plundered, and even wounded by them, without making resistance, which they would esteem a dangerous profanation, amounting to sacrilege*.

Literature.

Like the other people of Sumatra, those of Menangkabow are entirely without records or annals: none such, at least, have ever been spoken of in the various negotiations we have had with them. They are expert at writing, in the Arabic character, but their literature amounts to nothing more, than transcripts of the *keraan*, and *cabar* or historic tales, resembling our old romances, but having less ingenuity. Songs, called *pantoon*, before mentioned, they are famous for composing. These spread throughout the island, and though likewise invented in many other parts, are held in the first esteem, as coming from the Muses most favored seat.

Arts.

The arts in general are carried, among them, to a greater degree of perfection, than by the other natives of Sumatra. The Malays are the sole

* A man of this description, who called himself *Yeanderpatooan Siri Hamet Shab*, heir to the empire of *Menangkabow*, in consequence of some differences with the Dutch, came and settled among the English at *Bencoolen* in the year 1687, on his return from a journey as far as *Lampoon*; and being much respected by the country people, he gained the entire confidence of Mr. Bloom, then governor. He subdued some of the neighbouring chiefs who were disaffected to the English, particularly *Raja Moodo* of *Soongey lamo*, and also a *Jennang* (lieutenant) from the king of *Bantam*: he coined money, called *paters*; established a market; and wrote a letter to the Company, promising to put them in possession of the trade of the whole island. But shortly afterwards, a discovery was made of his having formed a design to cut off the settlement, and he was in consequence driven from the place. The records mention, at a subsequent period, that the sultan of *Indrapour* was raising troops to oppose him.

fabricators of the gold and silver filagree, which has been particularly described. *Manangcabow* has also been celebrated for its considerable traffick in gold, lying in the midst of the mines where it is chiefly produced. Much cloth is wrought in, and exported from it. In this country they have, from the earliest times, manufactured arms for their own use, and to supply the northern inhabitants of the island, who are the most warlike; and which trade they continue to this day; smelting, forging, and preparing the iron and steel for this purpose. How early they began to cast cannon, and make fire-arms, I cannot take upon me to say, but if they learned this art of the Europeans, which there is reason to doubt, they must have acquired it very suddenly, as the first Portuguese histories mention their using them. Their guns are those pieces called matchlocks (*satinga*), the improvement of springs and flints not being yet adopted by them*; the barrels are well tempered, and of the justest bore, as is evident from the excellence of the aim they take with them. From the great difficulty attending the process of preparing the metal from iron ore, I would have been inclined to think it more probable, notwithstanding the assurances I have received to the contrary, that they procured their steel from the western nations; but besides that I know the small importation of that commodity from Europe at present, can by no means be adequate to their consumption, it is evident that their creeses and other weapons of the sword kind, are made of a species of that metal, entirely different from ours; and there cannot remain a doubt of its being their own manufacture. Powder they make in great quantity, but either from the injudicious proportion of the ingredients in the composition, or the imperfect granulation, it is very defective in strength. Their arms, beside guns, are the *coojoor*, or lance, *roodoos*, *calewang*, *buddil*, *pamandab*, *sewar* and *creese*. These are, for the most part, weapons of a make between that of a scimitar, and a knife; some, as the *roodoos*, which is a kind of short, broad sword, and the *calewang*, being slung at the side, and others stuck in front through a belt that folds several times round the body. The *sewar* is a small instrument

Filagree.

Gold.

Cloth.

Fire-arms.

Gunpowder.

Side-arms.

* Firelocks they call *sappan*, from the Dutch, who perhaps were the first who used them in India.

Creeses.

of the filetto kind, for assassination chiefly. The *creese* is a species of dagger, of a particular construction, worn by all descriptions of people. The blade is fourteen inches in length, of steel tempered in such a manner, as to have an uncommon degree of hardness. It is not smooth or polished, like the blades of our weapons, but by a singular process, made to appear like a composition, in which veins of a different metal seem to be visible. It is formed, not straight like a sword, nor uniformly curved, but waving in and out, as we see depicted the flaming swords that guarded the gates of Paradise. This probably renders a wound given with it the more fatal. The head or haft is commonly of ivory, or fine grained wood,* ornamented with gold, or a composition of that and Japan copper, called *sooaffo*, polished, and curiously carved into a figure that bears some resemblance to the Egyptian Isis; having, like that symbolic deity, the beak of a bird, with the arms of a human creature. The sheath is also made of some beautiful species of wood, hollowed out; with neat folds of split rattan, stained red, round the lower part. The value of a creese is enhanced in proportion to the number of persons it has slain. One that has been the instrument of much bloodshed, is regarded with a degree of veneration as something sacred. The horror or enthusiasm that the contemplation of such actions inspires, is transferred to the instrument; which accordingly acquires sanctity, from the principle that leads ignorant men to reverence whatever possesses the power of effecting mischief. The abominable custom of poisoning weapons, though much talked of, (*begofo*, it is termed) is rarely, I believe, if ever, put in practice by the Sumatrans in modern times; but it may have been prevalent formerly.

Other imple-
ments of war-
fare.

Ranjows are sharp pointed stakes of *bamboo*, of different lengths, stuck into the ground, in order to penetrate the naked feet, or body, of an enemy. These are made use of in cases of flight, to annoy and retard the pursuers, and planted in the path-ways, or among the long grass, by the vanquished party, as they run. They are also disposed in the approaches to fortified doosoons. In time of war, they always form part

* In some places they employ black coral, and also the tooth of the Manatee (*Doojong* or *Sappee-laut*.)

of the military store of each combatant; and *reesows*, or lawless vagabonds, never fail to carry a supply about them at all seasons, to frustrate attempts of apprehending them for their crimes.

The people of *Menangkabow* are said to go frequently to war, on horseback, but I shall not venture to give their force the name of cavalry, as I doubt much its coming, in any degree, within that description. The chiefs probably may avail themselves of the service of this useful animal, from motives of indolence or state; or possibly, in marches, for the sake of expedition, they may employ horses for the troops; as they are in great plenty in that country. The natives, any more than the Europeans, never shoe them; nor is it necessary where there are no hard roads. The breed is small, but well made, spirited, and vigorous. Their wars, in general, are carried on rather in the way of ambuscade, and surprize of straggling parties, than open combat. When the latter does take place, they are careful to make it a long shot; and the firing is quite irregular. The soldiers have no pay, but the plunder is thrown into a common fund, and divided. Whatever might formerly have been the degree of their prowess, they are not now much celebrated for it; yet the Dutch, at *Padang*, have often found them troublesome, from their numbers, and been obliged to secure themselves within their walls, which the others have besieged. Between the *Menangkabow* people, those of *Rou* (called in the old writings *Aru*), and the *Achenese*, wars used to be perpetual; till within these twenty years, that our authority has been established at the settlement of *Natal*, and serves as a check to them. It was impossible to walk a few miles into the country, without meeting the remains of several breastworks, (*cooboor*),* thrown up for defence, and some of them very substantial. Our factory there, was first raised upon one of these country fortifications. They carried on their campaigns very deliberately; making a practice of commencing a truce at sunset, when they were no longer under apprehension from each other. They sometimes agreed that hostilities should take place, only between such and such hours of the day. The English resident, Mr. Carter, used frequently to be chosen their umpire, and upon these occa-

Horses.

Mode of carrying on war.

* A fortified village the Malays call *cota* or *cota*, which is used in the same sense throughout *Indostan*, and as far as the *Boetan* hills.

fions,

sions, fixed in the ground his golden headed cane, on the spot where the deputies should meet, and propose terms of accommodation; till at length the parties, weary of their fruitless contests, agreed to place themselves respectively, under the dependance and protection of the Company. This must not be understood of the *kingdoms* of *Menangcabow* and *Acbeen*, but of the settlers of these nations in the vicinity of *Natal*.

Religion.

The people of *Menangcabow* are all Mahometans, and in that respect distinguished from the other inland inhabitants of the island. This country is looked upon as the supreme seat of that religion; and next to a voyage to *Mecca*, which some Sumatrans have undertaken, to have been at *Menangcabow*, stamps a man learned and of superior sanctity. The chief *imaums*, *moulanas*, *cattibs*, and *pandittas*, either proceed from thence, or visit it, and bring away a diploma, or certificate of degree, from the sultan or his ministers. How it has happened that the most ancient, and the most central kingdom in the island, should have become the most perfectly Mahometan, is a point difficult to account for; unless we suppose that the circumstance of its importance, and the richness of its gold trade, naturally drew thither its pious converters, from temporal as well as spiritual motives. In attempting to ascertain the period of this conversion of the Sumatrans, much accuracy cannot be expected: the natives are ignorant on the subject, and we can only approximate to the truth, by comparing the authorities of different old writers. *John de Barros*, a Portuguese historian of great information, says, that according to the tradition of the inhabitants, the city of *Malacca* was founded about two hundred and fifty years before the arrival of his countrymen in that part of India, or about the year 1260, by a Javan of the name of *Paramisora* and his son *Xathem Darna*, and that in the reigns of their successors the people began by degrees to be converted to Mahometanism, by *Persian* and *Guzerat* merchants who resorted thither; so that about an hundred and fifty years before the date of his writing, or in the beginning of the fifteenth century, that faith had spread considerably, and extended itself to the neighbouring islands. *Diego do Couto*, another celebrated historian, who prosecuted his inquiries

Period of conversion to Mahometanism.

ries in India, differs from the former in relating the circumstances of the foundation of *Malacca*, whose first prince he calls *Raja Sabu*, and says that in the reign of his second son *Casemo*, an Arabian priest arrived, and first preached the doctrine of the Caliphs, converting this king thereto, and giving him the name of *Xa Mahamed*, in the year 1384. *Corneille le Brun* was informed by the king of *Bantam*, in 1706, that the people of *Java* were made converts to that sect, about three hundred years before. From these several sources of information, which are perfectly distinct from each other, we may justly draw this conclusion, that Mahometanism, which sprang up in Arabia in the seventh century, had made no progress on *Sumatra* before the year 1400, and that the period of its introduction, considering the vicinity to *Malacca*, could not be much later. *Marco Paulo*, the Venetian traveller, who, notwithstanding all the inaccuracies of his work, was doubtless in most of the countries which he describes, and certainly visited *Sumatra* or *Java*, or both, says, that those of the people who lived near the sea shore, when he was on *Java minor*, about 1268, were addicted to the Mahometan law, which they had learned from the Saracen merchants. This throws the period of conversion back, upwards of an hundred years; but I am scrupulous of insisting on his authority.* *Francis Xavier*, the celebrated

* To trace the course of *Marco Paulo's* travels, is wandering in a very obscure path, but not altogether destitute of glimmering light. The following abstract will enable the reader to form a judgment of his much disputed authenticity. "From *Petan* you go to the kingdom of *Meletur*, where are many spices, and a peculiar language. Steering to the southward of *Petan*, thirty-three leagues, you arrive at the island of *Java minor*, (evidently *Sumatra*) in circuit about six hundred and fifty leagues. It is divided into eight kingdoms, and has a proper tongue. It stretches so far to the southward, that the north pole is invisible. I, *Marco Paulo*, was there, and visited six of the eight kingdoms; namely, *Forlecb*, *Basman*, *Samara*, *Dragoiam*, *Lambri*, and *Fanfur*. Those of the people of *Forlecb* who inhabit the mountains, are without law, and live brutally, eating the flesh of all sorts of beasts indiscriminately, and even human flesh: those who live near the borders of the sea, are Mahometans, converted by Saracen merchants. In *Basman* (qu. *Passamman*?) they have a peculiar language. Here we find elephants and unicorns (rhinoceros) with hides like buffalos, feet like elephants, heads like wild boars, and a single horn on the snout; many monkeys also, resembling the human figure, the skins of which are stuffed by the natives, deprived of the hair, and sold to strangers for a diminutive race of men. I was five months in *Samara*, waiting for the season. The inhabitants are savage, cruel, and addicted to eating human flesh. They

lebrated Jesuit Missionary, mentions, that when he was at *Amboina*, so late as 1546, the people were then beginning to learn to write from the Arabians: but that island lies very far to the eastward, and being of less considerable account in that age, than subsequent transactions have rendered it, the zeal and avarice of those religious adventurers did not happen to be earlier attracted thither.

The inhabitants of *Menangcabow* did not only change their religion, or rather adopt one where there was none before, but an entire alteration was likewise wrought in their language, laws, customs, and manners. This has indisputably been effected, by the settling among them of *Malays* from the peninsula, with whom the former correspond, at this day, in every point of resemblance; inasmuch that throughout the island, a *Menangcabow* man, and a *Malay*, are nearly synonymous terms; including in the limits of that kingdom, the sea coast of *Atay-angin*,* whence they more immediately emigrate to the southern parts.

They have no wheat, but use rice for bread. They are apparently without vines, and extract their liquor from a certain tree, in which they make an incision; the juice as it distils, being received in a vessel. India nuts are likewise found here. In the kingdom of *Dragoa* (possibly that called *An-drageri*, and which in later times has been corrupted to *Draguin*), the people are savage idolaters, and speak a language of their own. When any of them are sick or infirm, and their magicians tell them they cannot recover, it is the practice for their friends to kill them by suffocation, and then to eat their bodies, (which they justify by a curious argument). They also kill, and eat such strangers caught amongst them, as cannot pay a ransom. In *Lambri* (a name mentioned by *Barros*, and other Portuguese historians) grows much spice, and certain plants by them called *Byrco*, which, after transplanting, they let grow for three years, and then pluck them up by the roots. The inhabitants of the mountainous parts have tails a palm long. Unicorns, and other wild beasts abound here. In *Fansur* (perhaps *Campar*) grows most rare and exquisite camphire, esteemed equal in value to gold. The inhabitants eat rice, and draw their liquor from trees. Here are seen trees with a soft bark, under which is found a white, mealy substance that is prepared into excellent food. I have eaten of it many times with much satisfaction. (sago). Fifty leagues from *Java minor*, lie the islands of *Necuran* and *Angania*, and from the latter to the great island of *Seylam*, (*Ceylon*) is three hundred and forty leagues. Italian Edit. of 1601, and French of 1556.

* *Atay-angin* signifies windward; but the part of Sumatra so called, extending from *Natal* to *Priaman*, does not, I should apprehend, take its name from its situation, but from the people, who probably settled there in considerable numbers from those eastern countries which lie to windward (with regard to the North east monsoon) of the peninsula of *Malayo*, and which are thence termed *Atay-angin*, as those on the western side of the peninsula, are termed *Deboua-angin*.

In fact

In fact the word "*Malay*", all over the east, no longer denotes an inhabitant of *Malayo*, strictly, nor one claiming his descent from thence; but a person whose language and religion are the same with theirs. Thus every black *Christian* is called, in India, a *Portuguese*, though his veins boast not a drop of European blood. The entire conformity of those people with the real *Malayans* would induce us to think, on a superficial view, that they are, altogether, no other than a colony from the peninsula; or that an army from thence conquered that part of the island, and extirpated the ancient inhabitants; to which opinion some have added a conjecture, founded however on no history or tradition, that the first sultan was a descendant of the *Caliphs*, and settling in Sumatra, acquired extensive authority, as some others of that description, denominated *Xeriffs*, have done to the eastward. But to these hypotheses, there are strong objections. The idea entertained by the people, and strengthened by the glimmering lights that the old writers afford us, bespeaks an antiquity to this empire that stretches far beyond the probable æra of the establishment of Mahometanism in the island. This antiquity is proved by the extensive and acknowledged jurisdiction of *Menangkabow*, at a period so early, that when the Europeans first visited Sumatra, about the year 1500, it was then in the wane. The superstitious veneration for that ancient monarchy extends itself, not only where Mahometanism has made a progress, but among the *Battas*, and other people not tinctured with that faith; which would not be likely to attend the government of a foreign intruder, who introduced a religion which they have refused to accept. So memorable an event would certainly have been long preserved by regular tradition, and some traces of it would have been discoverable, even at this time. The sultan, in the list of his titles, would not fail, any more than the *Xeriffs* in the east, to boast of this sacred extraction from the royal prophet, which he does not at all allude to. The most intelligent Indians whom I have consulted on this head, among whom was *Raddeen*, before mentioned, who as a prince himself, was conversant in these topics, positively asserted, that *Menangkabow* is an original *Sumatran* empire, antecedent to the introduction of the Arabian faith; instructed, but in no shape conquered,

General acceptance of the word "*Malay*."

Opinion that *Menangkabow* is a colony from *Malayo*.

Objections to that opinion.

by people from *Malacca*. It does not seem probable, or consistent with the general course of Malay colonization, that they should have subdued an inland country; being found, in every island whither they have had access, settled uniformly on the sea coasts only; to which they are naturally confined by their invariable attachment to trade and piracy.

Causes of the
progress of
Mahometan-
ism among the
Sumatrans.

Perhaps it is less surprizing that this one kingdom should have been compleatly converted to the Mahometan religion, than that so many districts of the island, should remain, to this day, without any religion at all. It is observable, that a person of this latter description, coming to reside among the Malays, soon assimilates to them in manners, and conforms to their religious practices. The love of novelty; the vanity of learning; the fascination of ceremony; the contagion of example; veneration for what appears above his immediate comprehension; and the innate activity of man's intellectual faculties, which, spurred by curiosity, prompts him to the acquisition of knowledge, whether true or false—all conspire to make him embrace a system of belief, and scheme of instruction, in which there is nothing that militates against the prejudices he has already imbibed, but is rather congenial with them. He relinquishes no favorite ancient worship to adopt a new; and is manifestly a gainer by the exchange, when he barter, for a paradise and eternal pleasures, so small a consideration as the flesh of his foreskin.

Kingdom of
Menangkabow
divided into
different sove-
reignities.

By late accounts it appears that the Kingdom of *Menangkabow*, even in its limited state, is rent into various sovereignties. Two Rajas, of *Soorooaso*, and *Soongey Tarap*, claim a share in the dominion, and in that quality sent each a deputation to the English chief at *Padang*, after the capture of that place in 1781, congratulating him on the success of our arms. *Passamman*, a populous country, and rich in gold, cassia, and camphire, which immediately borders on *Menangkabow*, to the northward, now disclaims all manner of dependance on it. This is governed by two rajas, of *Sablooan*, and *Canallee*, who boast an origin of high antiquity. One of them preserves, as his *pesakko* (relick), the bark of a tree, in which his ancestor was nursed in the woods, before the

Passamman people had reached their present *polished* state. The other, to be on a level with him, boasts possession of the beard of a reverend predecessor, which was so bushy that a large bird had made its nest in it. His son, on the decease of the old man, cut it off, and it is said to be carefully preserved to this day.

The Malay governments, which are founded on principles more nearly feudal, than others on the island, consist of a *Raja** or prince, who mostly assumes the title of *Sultan*, introduced by the Arabians; under whom are a certain number of *Dattoos*, chosen from among the body of *orang cayo*s, or men of rank; who have usually subordinate to them, a considerable train of immediate dependants or vassals. From the *dattoos*, the sultan appoints the officers of state; as the *baban* or, who regulates the customs of the port; the *tamongoong*, or commander in the wars; the *bandara*, or administrator of justice, and others; differing in number and authority, according to the situation, and importance of the kingdom. There is likewise a class of officers called *oaiabailang*; which word is usually translated "champion," from their fighting singly, when required, in the cause of the prince or noble who maintains them; but they may be described, more properly, as *assassins*, who like the originals of that name, (in the government of a prince of *Asia minor*, called the "old man of the mountain, cotemporary with Richard the first of England) are dispatched by a weak, but arbitrary and blood thirsty monarch, to execute by surprize and stealth, his commissions of death: removing obnoxious persons, whom he dares not attack openly. In common they form the body guard of their masters, who do not every where employ them in these secret services.

Malay government in general.

The title of *Dattoo* is, on Sumatra, peculiar to the *Malay* governments, and wherever it is in use, the people may be distinguished as such. It has not however, proceeded from *Malacca*, but from *Menangcabow*. Bencoolen (*Bencouloo*), near which the English Presidency of Fort Marlborough is situated, and where Fort York formerly stood; is a *Malay* town, go-

Title of dattoo.

Bencoolen.

**Raja* was a title amongst the natives from the earliest times. It prevails also in *Indoian*, but whether adopted from thence by the more Eastern people, is uncertain.

verned by four *dattoos*, under the protection, or dominion of the two *pangerans*,* of *Seongey-lamo*, and *Seongey-etam*, who each have possessions on different parts of the river which flows through the town, the principal sway being in the hands of him, of the two, who has most personal ability. They are constant rivals, though upon familiar terms with each other, and are only restrained from open war, by the authority of the English. These, properly, are not *Malay*, but native, country princes.

The settlers on the rivers of *Leemoon*, *Batang Affy*, and *Pacallang-jambo*, who are colonists from *Menangkabow*, established in those places, on account of the gold trade, are governed, each, by four *dattoos* likewise, who, though not immediately nominated by the *sultan*, are confirmed by, and pay tribute to him. The *Leemoon dattoos*, whose situation is most southerly, receive also the investiture, with title, *badjoo* (garment), and *daytar* (turban) from the *sultan* of *Palembang*; which is a political proceeding, and adopted by these merchants, for the convenience it may be productive of, in their trade with that place. I am uncertain whether the title of "*Rattoo*", which is of considerable dignity, be *Malay* or not; but incline to think, notwithstanding the near affinity in sound to "*dattoo*", that it is an original *ooloo* or country word.

Indrapour.

Indrapour was once the seat of a monarchy of some consideration and extent. Its antiquity appears from an historical account given by the *sultan* of *Bantam*, to *Cornille le Brun*; in which it is mentioned, that the son of the Arabian prince who first converted the *Javans* to Mahometanism, about the year 1400, having got himself declared sovereign of *Bantam*, under the title of *pangeran*, married the daughter of the *raja* of *Indrapoura*, and had, as her portion, the country of the *Sillabares*, a people of *Banca-boulou*. This was probably the first dismemberment, which the *Javan* monarchs long availed themselves of; and since, the kingdom of *Indrapour* has dwindled into obscurity. From its ruins has sprung that of *Anac-soongey*; extending, on the sea coast, from

Anac-soongey.

* A title introduced from *Java*, by the *sultans* of *Bantam*.

Mandoota river to that of *Oori*; the present capital of which, if such towns deserve the appellation, is *Moco Moco*.* The sultan of *Bantam's* dominion is said to have extended from the southward, as far as *Oori*, and before that, to *Retta* or *Ayer etam*, between *Ippoq* and *Moco Moco*; but this last space was ceded by the sultan of *Bantam* to the raja of *Indrapour*, in satisfaction for the murder of a prince. A small tax was laid on the *Anac-soongey* people, on account of this murder, by the latter, and is now paid to the sultan of *Moco Moco*. It is a *soocoo* (fourth part of a dollar), a bamboo of rice, and a fowl, from each village, every year. The government of *Anac-soongey* is *Malay*, but great part of the country dependent on it is inhabited by the original *doofoon* people.† The *proatteens* (chiefs) are obliged to attend the *sultan* and carry their contribution or tax; but his authority is very much limited. The officers next in rank to the *sultan* are called *Mantree*, which some apprehend to be a corruption of the word *Mandarin*, a title of distinction amongst the Chinese.‡ The name of the present monarch, is, *Passijeer*

* Sultan *Guilemot* was the first monarch of this new kingdom of *Anac Soongey*, and established himself at *Mandoota*, by the assistance of the English, in 1695. A revolution had happened in *Indrapour*, by which the old sultan, who had protected the English at their first settling, was driven out of his kingdom, by the intrigues of the Dutch. This induced the former to support *Guilemot*, who was at variance with the successor, as were also two other chiefs, named *Raja Addil*, and *Raja Macoota*. In 1698 the old sultan of *Indrapour* returned to his throne, but left *Guilemot* in quiet possession at *Mandoota*. Many years after, *Guilemot* was removed, and *Gendam Shab*, the father of the present sultan of *Moco Moco*, set up in his room. The space of time occupied by these three reigns is very extraordinary, especially if we consider that the first sultan must have been at man's estate in 1695; that the second succeeded him before his decease; and that the third is now alive. The fact is sufficiently corroborated by this circumstance, that the son of sultan *Guilemot*, called sultan *Awal Ladders*, is still living, at *Yappanooly*, and supposed to be not less than ninety years of age. He was a state prisoner at *Madras* in the government of Mr. *Morfs*.

† At the back of *Indrapour* and *Anac Soongey* lie the countries of *Serampays* and *Corinchia*, where the *Malay* manners or religion have not made the smallest progress. The people are inoffensive and laborious, but uncivilized, and feed coarsely. From the latter abundance of horses are procured.

‡ The same title prevails at *Malacca*, and from thence, it may be presumed, it was introduced in *Anac Soongey*.

barat Shah Mooallam Shah. The presumptive heir is, in all Malay states, called *Raja Mocdo*.

Palembang.

Palembang, as has already been observed, is peopled mostly by *Javans*, in consequence of that part being formerly under the jurisdiction of the *Bantam* empire, whence its sovereigns were appointed. It is now under the immediate protection of the Dutch government at *Batavia*, who have a chief and factory there, and procure from it pepper and tin. It proves likewise an useful mart to them, for vending opium and other commodities from the West of India. Its river, which takes its rise in the district of *Moojee*,* near the West coast, and within a day or two's journey of that of *Bencoolen*, is the most advantageous for navigation of any in the island. High up, on its banks, the pepper is cultivated, and purchased of the natives at an extraordinary cheap rate, as I am informed, by an agent of the king or Dutch company, who resides there. The inhabitants of *Passummab* are mostly supplied with opium, salt and piece goods, from *Palembang*. The king's agent (for trade in these parts is usually monopolized by the sovereign power) comes up the river with large boats, which are towed against the stream. In this manner the goods are conveyed to a place called *Mooarro Moolang*; from whence they are transported, on men's backs, to that country. The voyage by the river is said to take up fourteen days; but the journey from *Mooarro Moolang*, where they disembark, to *Passummab*, is performed in one. Their returns are mostly in a species of twine called *poolay*; silk in its roughest state; and elephants teeth. The tin, (which the Malays call *timar*, and some nations, *calin*) though exported from *Palembang*, is dug

* Mr. Charles Miller, in his account of a journey made into this part of the country, mentions that after having crossed the range of hills which form the boundary of the Company's district, he came to a doosoon called *Caloobar*, situated on the banks of the river *Moojee*, (or *Palembang*) which is there pretty broad. Here he was shewn samples of sulphur, which is collected in great quantities, and carried to *Palembang* for sale. Tobacco, and *poolay* twine are likewise sent thither. Cassia is produced there, of which there are large woods. The country thereabout is level, the soil black and good, and the air temperate.

up in the island of *Banca*, which covers the mouth of the river, and constitutes a trade of considerable importance.*

The idea which has been given by a celebrated writer of the immense riches accumulated by the king of *Palembang*, I had been used to look upon as wanting foundation in fact, both from the political improbability of the circumstance, considering his state of dependance and from my not having ever heard the natives talk of his wealth, the fame of which might be supposed to reach our connexions in the inland country, did it really exist. Yet I have since heard it observed by well informed persons, who were long conversant in the trade of that place, that the influx of *silver* there, without which *tin* cannot be purchased, is prodigious, and that there is no apparent channel through which it might be conjectured to flow back; the Dutch themselves being obliged to pay a large proportion of the value, in dollars, for all the cargoes they receive. This would prove that the country must be rich, if not the king, who appears to have no exclusive property in the produce of the mines; and yet the effect of these riches is not to be perceived. A difficulty, in a point of a similar nature, presents itself on the west coast of the island, where thirty or forty thousand dollars are annually sent into the country by the English for pepper; little or none of which ever visibly returns, (the profits of the private trade of the residents being always remitted by bills) and yet both chiefs and people are universally poor. China is supposed, with reason, to be the gulph which, sooner or later, swallows up all the silver of India, and of America also; but in the instances before us, it is hard to trace the subsidiary streams.

The late king of *Palembang* left the succession of his dominions, by lot, to a younger son, whom the eldest, after his father's death, obliged to

* The island of *Junkcelon*, on the Malayan coast, likewise produces abundance of tin. *Rees*, a port of great commerce in the island of *Bintang*, and which is now the medium of communication with China, is the mart to which this commodity is mostly carried. A number of European vessels, Malay praws, and China junks, annually resort thither, both on account of the goodness of the harbour, which is a salt water creek, and of its being a free port.

relinquish

relinquish his crown, and fly for protection to the sultan of *Jambee*. Thither a number of armed praws were sent, with a requisition to the sultan to deliver up the fugitive. That monarch, on the contrary, declared his intention of supporting the younger brother's claim, and captured the vessels. The king of *Palembang*, apprehensive that this hostile proceeding would be followed by an attack on his country, was, about the year 1777, employed in collecting a large quantity of stones, in order to block up two of the mouths of the river; obliging each of the chiefs to contribute according to the number of their dependants, and fortified the third. This relation I have on the authority of an intelligent Malay.

Jambee.

Jambee was formerly a place of considerable note, and both the English and Dutch Companies had establishments there. The town is situated about sixty miles from the sea, on a large river.* The trade consists in gold dust, pepper and canes, but it is now esteemed of little importance, the gold being mostly drawn to the western coast across the country. There are many other petty *Malay* states, at every large river on that side of the island, but the extent of their respective powers are little known, their ports being seldom frequented except by the *Cling* (*Telinga*) or Moor vessels. Sometimes, but rarely, a private trading ship from *Bengal* endeavors to dispose, at these places, of a few chests of opium, but the captains scarcely ever venture on shore, and deal with such of the Malays as come off, at the sword point; so strong is the idea of their treacherous character. They are generally at war with the inland people, who confine them to the sea coast, and in some parts to the mere rivers. The principal of these are *Indergerree*, *Siak* and *Battoo Bara*. The river *Racan*, situated between the two latter, and which is considerably the largest in the island, is described to be so rapid, and attended with so great a swell, where it encounters the tide at the mouth, as to be unfit for navigation. The country of *Aru* or *Rou*, often mentioned by the Portuguese historians, borders on its banks.† *Campar*, another kingdom once famous, is fallen into obscurity.

Or

* A Portuguese Squadron, in 1629, was twenty two days, employed in getting up this river, in order to destroy some Dutch ships that were sheltered near the town. Faria y Sousa, vol. III.

† I suspect that the modern name of this river, *Racan*, or *Arracan*, as it is spelt in some charts, is an European corruption of the word *Aru*. The former I never heard a native make use of.

Mendez

All the country on the eastern side of this island, from the straits of Sunda to Diamond point or *Tanjong Gooree*, is very low land, with scarcely any mountains visible, and mostly covered with woods. The northern coast, from thence to Acheen, presents a very different appearance, having a gradual slope to the foot of a range of high hills, and the lands well cultivated. *Pasay*, which was once the principal seat of government of this extreme of the island, is situated in a fine bay, called *Telloe Samcway*, where cattle, grain, and all sorts of provisions are in plenty. Timber, which in quality and size, is said to be adapted for masts to the largest ships, and of which abundance is cut on *Sumatra*, to be transported to *Malacca* and *Batavia*, grows close to the shore of this bay. The government and customs of these places are the same with those of all others where the Malay manners and language prevail, with very few and immaterial exceptions.

Mendez Pinto says, that the town of *Arx* stood upon the river *Panatican*, and gives an instance of the extreme rapidity of its current, as well as of its great size. Mention is made, at a subsequent period, of a river *Jorcan*.

The country of Batta—Its productions—The inhabitants—Account of their manners, government, and some extraordinary customs.

Battas.

THE next considerable distinction of people, as we advance to the northward, is the nation of the *Battas*, whose remarkable dissimilitude, in the genius of their customs and manners, to the other inhabitants of the island, renders it necessary that a particular degree of attention should be paid to their description. Although these people had frequently been mentioned by old writers, yet it was not until about the year 1752, when the English settled at *Natal*, and formed connexions in that part of the country, that they became properly known to any European, and that their usages, extraordinary in some instances, were accurately ascertained.

Situation of the country.

The country of *Batta* may be said, in a summary way, to be bounded to the north by that of *Acbeen*, and to the south by *Passamman* and the independent district of *Rou* or *Aru*: but more precisely, it is marked as extending from the great river of *Sinkell* to that of *Tabooyong*, on the sea coast, and inland, as far south as *Ayer Bongey*, at the back of which the *Rou* people commence. The country is very populous, but the bulk of the people reside at a distance from the sea, in the central parts of the land, in extensive plains between two ridges of hills, on the borders of a great lake; where the soil is fertile, and cultivation so much more prevalent than in the southern districts, which are covered with woods, that there is scarce a tree to be seen but what the natives themselves have planted for use. The island being very narrow in this part, their towns lie, as well on the rivers that discharge themselves into the Straits of Malacca, as those which have their course towards the west coast; but their communication is now more open with this latter side;

side; owing to the supplies of salt and other articles, which they are regularly furnished with from the English settlements, and by traders from the continent of India.

The country is divided into a number of districts, of which the following are the principal; *Ancola*; *Padambola*; *Mandeeling*; *Toba*; *Selendong*; and *Sinkell*. The inhabitants of these are subdivided again into tribes; of which *Ancola* has five, *Mandeeling* three, and *Toba* five: the others I am not informed of. Division.

Our settlements in this part of the island, are at *Natal* (*Natar*) and *Tappanooly*. At the former the communication with the *Battas* is indirect; none of them residing on the spot. It is inhabited by persons settled there, for the convenience of trade, from the neighbouring countries of *Acheen*, *Rou* and *Menanggabow*, and is, by their concourse and traffic, populous and rich. A large quantity of gold is procured from the country, (some of the mines, or pits, lying within ten miles of the factory) and a considerable vent is found for imported goods. Like other Malay towns, it is governed by *Dattoos*, one of whom is styled *Dattoo biffar*, or chief magistrate, and his sway is very great. Although the influence of the English company here is extensive, their authority is by no means so firmly established, as in the pepper provinces, to the southward; owing to the numbers of people, their wealth, and enterprising, independent spirit.* They find the English convenient for their protection English settlements.
Natal.

* Upon the re-establishment of the factory in 1762, the resident pointed out to the *Dattoo biffar*, with a degree of indignation, the number of dead bodies which were frequently seen floating down the river, and proposed his co-operating to prevent assassinations in the country; occasioned by the anarchy the place fell into, during the temporary interruption of the company's influence. "I cannot assent to any measures for that purpose, replied the *dattoo*: I reap from these murders an advantage of twenty dollars a head, when the families prosecute." A compensation of thirty dollars per month was offered him, and to this he scarcely submitted, observing that he should be a considerable loser, as there fell in this manner at least three men in the month. At another time, when the resident attempted to carry some regulation into execution, he said, "*camee tradab sooco brgesto, orang cayol*" "we do not chuse to allow it, Sir;" and bared his right arm, as a signal of attack to his dependants, in case the point had been insisted on. Of late years, habit, and a sense of mutual interest, have rendered them more accommodating.

from the usurpation, as they term it, of the Dutch; who formerly laid strong claim to the country, and persisted in their attempts to establish themselves there, till an article of the treaty of Paris, in 1763, put the matter out of dispute. It is therefore unnecessary to enter into any discussion of the respective claims of the two European nations; for which, however, I am in possession of the amplest materials. Neither, in fact, have any *right*, but what proceeds from the will and consent of the native powers.

Tappanooly. The other settlement is on a small island, called *Punchong cacheel*, in the famous bay of *Tappanooly*, which is not surpassed, for natural advantages, in many parts of the world. Navigators say that all the navies of Europe might ride there with perfect security, in every weather; and such is the complication of harbours within each other, as to lead some to assert, that a large ship could be so hid in them, as not to be found without a laborious and tedious search. Unfortunately it is but ill situated with respect to the general track of shipping, and in point of distance from the seat of our important Indian concerns; so that little use has hitherto been made of it. This bay stretches into the heart of the *Batta* dominions, and its borders are inhabited by that people, who barter here the produce of their country, for the articles which they stand in need of from abroad. The natives are in general inoffensive, and give little disturbance to our establishments. The *Achenese* long strove to drive us from *Tappanooly*, by force of arms, and we were under a necessity of carrying on a war, for many years, with parties of that nation, in order to secure our tranquillity. They wanted to recover their trade with the country people, which our interference had obstructed and diminished.

Journey made
into the Batta
country.

It is said that no European ever penetrated twenty miles into the country which lies at the back of *Natal*. At *Tappanooly*, Mr. Holloway, chief of that place, and Mr. Miller, botanist, by orders from the council, performed a journey, in the year 1772, through the *Batta* districts in that quarter, with a view of enquiring into, and giving encouragement

couragement to the trade in *Cassia*, which had been some time discontinued.*

The

* The report of this journey is entered in the Company's records. An extract, containing the geographical part, is here given. " June 21st. 1772. We set out from *Poelo Punchong*, and went in boats to the qualloe of *Penang Soores* river, which is situated in the bay of *Tappanooly*, about ten or twelve miles to the south east of the former. The next morning we went up this river in sampans, and in about six hours, arrived at a few Malay houses, at a place called *qualloe Loomoot*. The whole of the country, on both sides the river, is low, covered with woods, and uninhabited. About a quarter of a mile from hence, on the opposite side of the river, is a *Batta Campong* (village) situated on the summit of a very beautiful and regular little hill, which rises in a pyramidal form, in the middle of a small meadow. July 23d. We walked through a level woody country, to *campong Loomoot*; and next day to *Sa-tarong*. We next proceeded to *Tappelin*, to *Siccia*, and to *Sa-pesang*. The last is situated on the banks of *Batang Tara* river, three or four days journey from the sea; so that our course had been hitherto nearly parallel with the direction of the coast. July 1st. We left *Sa-pesang*, and directed our course towards the hills, following nearly the course of *Batang Tara* river. We travelled all this day through a low, woody, and entirely uncultivated country. Our guide had proposed to reach to a *Batta campong* called *Loomboe*; but missing the road, we were obliged to wade up the river between four and five miles, and in the afternoon arrived at a *laddang* (rice plantation) extremely fatigued; where the badness of the weather obliged us to stop and take up our quarters in an open paddeshed. The next day the river was so much swelled by the heavy rains, that we could not proceed, and were forced to pass that day and night in the same uncomfortable situation. July 3d. We left the *laddang*, and walked through a very irregular, uninhabited country, full of rocks, and covered with woods. We this day crossed a ridge of very steep and high hills, and in the afternoon came to an inhabited and well cultivated country, on the edge of the plains of *Ancola*. We slept this night in a small open shed, and the next day proceeded to a campong called *Coto Lambong*. July 5th. We went through a more open, and very pleasant country to *Terimbaroo*, a large *Batta campong* situated on the southern edge of *Ancola*. The country hereabout is entirely cleared of wood, and either ploughed, and sown with *paddes* or *jaggong* (Indian corn), or used as pasture for their numerous flocks of buffaloes, kine and horses. July 7th. We left *Terimbaroo*, and proceeded on our journey to *Sa-massam*. The country round is full of small hills, but cleared of wood, and mostly pasture ground. July 10th. We proceeded towards *Batang Onan*, the campong where the *Malays* used to purchase *cassia* of the *Bajas*. After about three hours walk over an open, hilly country, we again came into thick woods, in which we were obliged to pass the night. The next morning we crossed another ridge of very high hills, covered entirely with woods. In the evening we arrived at *Batang Onan*. This campong is situated in a very extensive plain, on the banks of a large river which empties itself into the straits of *Malacca*, and is said to be navigable for large sloops, to within a day's journey of this place. July 11th. We went to *Panka dooloot*, the rajah of which claims the property of the *cassia* trees; and his people used to cut and cure the *cassia*, and carry it to *Batang Onan*. The nearest *cassia* trees are about two hours walk from *Panka dooloot*; on a very high ridge of mountains. July 14th. We left *Batang Onan*,

Productions.

The productions of the country are, camphire, gum benjamin, cassia, cotton, and indigo. The domestic animals are horses, cows, buffalos, goats, hogs, and dogs of the cur kind ; with the wild ones that are common to all parts of Sumatra. There is no gold found in the northern parts, nor any brought down to *Tappanooly*. Rice is extremely plenty in some of those districts which lie near the sea ; and as scarce in others. At *Natal* this grain is said to yield a produce of seventy or eighty for one ; and at a place called *Soofoo*, so much as an hundred. No benjamin is produced to the northward of *Stinkell*, nor to the southward of *Batang-tara*, near the bay. The growth of the camphire tree is also much limited in point of extent ; none being found south of the equinoctial.

Ancient building found.

High up on the river called *Battoo-bara*, which, having its source in the *Batta* country, empties itself into the straits of *Malacca*, and is always spoken of as the most navigable in that part of the island, is found a large brick building, concerning the erection of which no tradition is preserved among the people. It is described as a square, or several squares, and at one corner is an extremely high pillar, supposed by them to have been designed for carrying a flag. Images, or reliefs, of human figures, are carved in the walls, which they conceive to be Chinese *Josses* or idols. The bricks, of which some were brought to *Tappanooly*, are of a smaller size than those used by the English.

Persons of the Battas.

The *Battas* are in their persons rather below the stature of the *Malays*, and their complexions are fairer ; which may perhaps be owing to their distance from the sea, an element they do not at all frequent.

in order to return, and stopped that night at a campong called *Coto Moran*, and the next evening reached *Sa-maffam* ; from whence we came by a different road from what we had travelled before, to *Sa-pesang* ; where we got sampans and passed down the *Batang Tara* river, to the sea. July 22d. We returned to *Poelo Punchong*." It should be observed, that owing to some difficulties made by the country people, and the dissatisfactory conduct of the principal person who accompanied them as a guide, the object of Mr. Miller's journey was frustrated, and they did not even see the cassia trees. During the course of the journey they were every where treated with great hospitality and respect.

Their

Their dress is commonly of a species of cotton cloth, which they manufacture themselves, strong, harsh, and of mixed colors, the most prevalent being a brownish red, and blue nearly approaching to black. They are fond of adorning it with strings of beads. The covering of the head is usually the bark of a tree. The young women wear rings of tin in their ears, often to the number of fifty in each. Dress.

The food of the lower people is *jaggong* (maize), and sweet potatoes; the *rajas* and great men only, indulging themselves in ordinary with rice. Some mix them together. It is on public occasions alone that they kill cattle for food; but not being very dainty in their appetites, they do not scruple to eat part of a dead buffalo, aligator, or other animal, which they happen to meet with. Their rivers do not abound with fish; which is the case with most in the island, owing to their rapidity and frequent falls: yet no sea coast teems with greater abundance or variety. Their *horfes* they esteem the most luxurious food, and for this purpose feed them with great care, giving them grain, and rubbing them well down. They abound in this country, and the Europeans get many good ones from thence; but not the finest, as these are reserved for their festivals. Food.

Some excellent species of timber, particularly the camphire, (the wood in general of the country being light, porous, and prone to decay) are in plenty here, and their houses are all built with frames of wood, and boarded; with roofs of *ejoo*, a vegetable substance that resembles coarse horse-hair. They usually consist of one large room, which is entered by a trap-door in the middle. Their towns are called "*campong*," in which the number of houses seldom exceeds twenty; but opposite to each, is a kind of open building, that serves to sit in, during the day, and for the unmarried men to sleep in at night; and these together form a kind of street. There is also to each *campong* a *balli*, (as it is called by the Ma- Houses.

* Some of the south eastern rivers are an exception. *Siak* is noted for a trade in fish roes, cured there, and called *trobo*.

lays).

Towns called
Campong.

lays), or town hall, for the transaction of public business, festivals, and the reception of strangers, whom they entertain with hospitality and frankness. At the end of this building is a place divided off, from whence the women see the public spectacles of fencing and dancing; and below that is a kind of orchestra for the music.

Domesticman-
ners.

The men are allowed to marry as many wives as they please, or can afford, and to have half a dozen is not uncommon. Each of these sits in a different part of the large room, and sleeps exposed to the others; not being separated by any partition, or distinction of apartments. Yet the husband finds it necessary to allot to each of them their several fire-places, and cooking utensils, where they dress their victuals separately, and prepare his in turns. How is this domestic state, and the flimsiness of such an imaginary barrier, to be reconciled with our ideas of the furious, ungovernable passions of love and jealousy, supposed to prevail in an eastern *baram*? or must custom be allowed to supersede all other influence, both moral and physical? In other respects they differ little in their customs relating to marriage from the rest of the island. The parents of the girl always receive a valuable consideration (in buffaloes or horses) from the person to whom she is given in marriage; which is returned when a divorce takes place against the man's inclination. The daughters, as elsewhere, are looked upon as the riches of the fathers.

The condition of the women appears to be little better than that of slaves. They alone, beside the domestic duties, work in the rice plantations. These are prepared in the same mode as in the rest of the island; except that in the central parts, the country being clearer, the plough, drawn by buffaloes, is more used. The men, when not engaged in war, their favorite occupation, lead an idle, inactive life, passing the day in playing on a kind of a flute, crowned with garlands of flowers; among which the *glote-amaranthus*, a native of the country, mostly prevails. Their music is somewhat preferable to that of the other Sumatrans.

They

They are much addicted to gaming, and the practice is under no kind of restraint, until it destroys itself, by the ruin of one of the parties. Addicted to gaming. When a man loses more money than he is able to pay, he is confined and sold as a slave; which is almost the only mode by which they become such. A generous winner will sometimes release his unfortunate adversary, upon condition of his killing a horse, and making a public entertainment.

A favorite diversion with these people is horse-racing. Horse racing. They use no saddle; the bit of the bridle is of iron, and has several joints; the head-stall and reins of rattan: in other parts the reins are of ejoo, and the bit of wood. They are said likewise to hunt the deer on horseback.

They have, as was observed in another place, a language and written character peculiar to themselves; and the Malay has there made less progress than in any part of the island. It is remarkable, that the proportion of the people who know how to read and write, is much greater than of those who do not; an advantage seldom observed in such uncivilized parts of the world, and not always found in the more polished.* Language.

Their crimes against the order of society are not numerous. Crimes. Theft is almost unknown among them; being strictly honest in their dealings with each other. Pilfering, indeed, from strangers, when not restrained by the laws of hospitality,† they are tolerably expert in, and think no

* For specimens of their language, and writing character, see page 168.

† Mr. Miller gives the following instances of their hospitality in the reception of strangers. "The *raja* of *Terimbaroo*, being informed of our intentions to come there, sent his son and between thirty and forty men, armed with lances and matchlock guns, to meet us; who escorted us to their campang, beating gongs, and firing their guns all the way. The *raja* received us in great form, and with civility ordered a buffalo to be killed, and detained us a day. When we proceeded on our journey, he sent his son and a number of armed people with us for our guard. Having made the accustomed presents, we left *Terimbaroo*, and proceeded to *Samassam*; the *raja* of which place, attended by sixty or seventy men well armed, soon met us, and escorted us to his campang, where he had prepared a house for our reception, and treated us with great hospitality and respect."

Punishments.

moral offence; because they do not perceive that any ill results from it. Adultery, in the men, is punished with death; but the women are only disgraced by having their heads shaved, and are sold for slaves; which in fact they were before. The distribution of justice in this case, is, I think, perfectly singular. It must proceed from their looking upon women as mere passive subjects. "Can you put butter near to a fire, say the *Hindoo* sages, and suppose that it will not melt?" The men alone they regard as possessing the faculties of free agents, who may control their actions, or give way to their passions, as they are well or ill inclined. Lives, however, are in all cases redeemable, if the convict, or his relations, have property sufficient; the quantum being in some measure at the discretion of the injured party.

Extraordinary custom prevalent amongst them.

But their most extraordinary, though perhaps not the most singular custom, remains yet to be described. Many old writers had furnished the world with accounts of *anthrophagi*, or man-eaters, and their relations, true or false, were, in those days, when people were addicted to the marvellous, universally credited. In the succeeding age, when a more sceptical and scrutinizing spirit prevailed, several of these asserted facts were found, upon subsequent examination, to be false; and men, from a bias inherent in our nature, ran into the opposite extreme. It then became established as a philosophical truth, capable almost of demonstration, that no such race of people ever did, or could exist. But the varieties, inconsistencies, and contradictions of human manners, are so numerous and glaring, that it is scarce possible to fix any general principle that will apply to all the incongruous races of mankind; or even to conceive an irregularity which some or other of them have not given into. The voyages of our late famous circumnavigators, the authenticity of whose assertions is unimpeachable, have already proved to the world, that human flesh is eaten by the savages of *New Zealand*: and I can, with equal confidence, though not with equal weight of authority, assure the public, that it is also, at this day, eaten on the island of *Sumatra* by the *Bata* people; and by them only. Whether or not the horrible custom prevailed more extensively, in antient times, I cannot

Eat human flesh.

not take upon me to ascertain; but the same old historians, who mention it as practised by the *Battas*, and whose accounts were undeservedly looked upon as fabulous, relate it also of many others of the eastern people, and those of the island of *Java* in particular, who, since that period, may have become more humanized.*

They do not eat human flesh, as a means of satisfying the cravings of nature, owing to a deficiency of other food; nor is it sought after as a gluttonous delicacy, as it would seem among the *New Zealanders*. The *Battas* eat it as a species of ceremony; as a mode of shewing their detestation of crimes, by an ignominious punishment; and has a horrid indication of revenge and insult to their unfortunate enemies. The objects of this barbarous repast, are the prisoners taken in war; and offenders convicted and condemned for capital crimes. Persons of the former description may be ransomed or exchanged, for which they often wait a considerable time; and the latter suffer only when their friends cannot redeem them by the customary fine of twenty *beuchangs*, or eighty dollars. These are tried by the people of the tribe where the fact was committed, but cannot be executed till their own particular *raja*, or chief, has been acquainted with the sentence; who, when he acknowledges the justice of the intended punishment, sends a cloth to

Motives for
this custom.

* Mention is made of the *Battas* and their customs, by the following writers. Nicolo Conti 1449, Ramusio, "The Sumatrans are gentiles. The people of *Batavia* eat human flesh, and use the skulls of their enemies instead of money, and he is accounted the greatest man who has the most of these in his house."—Odoardus Barboza. 1519. Ramusio. "In *Aru* (which is contiguous to *Batta*) they eat human flesh."—Mendon Pinto, in 1539, was sent on an embassy to the king of the *Battas*.—Beaulieu, 1622. "Inland people independent, and speak a language different from the Malayan. Idolaters and eat human flesh. Never ransom prisoners, but eat them with pepper and salt. Have no religion, but some polity."—De Barros, 1558. "The gentiles retreated from the Malays to the interior part of the island. Those who live in that part opposite to Malacca, are called *Battas*. They eat human flesh, and are the most savage and warlike people of the island. Those which inhabit to the south are called *Sarumas* and are more civilized."—Captain Hamilton. "The inhabitants of *Delley* (on a river which runs from the *Batta* country) are said to be cannibals." "Vartomanus, in 1504, writes that the *Javans* were man-eaters, before that traffick was had with them by Chinese which the people said was no more than an hundred years. The same custom has been attributed to the *Cassu*, inland of Cambodia, and also to the inhabitants of the *Carnicobar* islands.

Mode of proceeding.

cover the delinquent's head, together with a large dish of salt and lemons. The unhappy object, whether prisoner of war, or malefactor, is then tied to a stake; the people assembled throw their lances at him from a certain distance, and when mortally wounded, they run up to him, as if in a transport of passion; cut pieces from the body with their knives; dip them in the dish of salt and lemon juice; slightly broil them over a fire prepared for the purpose; and swallow the morsels with a degree of savage enthusiasm. Sometimes (I presume according to the degree of their animosity and resentment) the whole is devoured; and instances have been known, where with barbarity still aggravated, they tear the flesh from the carcase with their mouths. To such a depth of depravity may man be plunged, when neither religion nor philosophy enlighten his steps! All that can be said in extenuation of the horror of this diabolical ceremony, is, that no view appears to be entertained of torturing the sufferers; of increasing or lengthening out the pangs of death; the whole fury is directed against the corse; warm indeed with the remains of life, but past the sensation of pain. I have found a difference of opinion in regard to their eating the bodies of their enemies slain in battle. Some persons long resident there, and acquainted with their proceedings, assert that it is not customary; but as one or two particular instances have been given by other people, it is just to conclude, that it sometimes takes place, though not generally. It was supposed to be with this intent that *raja Neabin* maintained a long conflict for the body of Mr. Nairne, a most respectable gentleman, and valuable servant of the India Company, who fell in an attack upon the campong of that chief, in the year 1775.*

The

* I find that some persons still doubt the reality of the fact, that human flesh is any where eaten by mankind, and think that the proofs hitherto adduced are insufficient to establish a point of so much moment in the history of the species. It is objected to me that I never was an eye witness of a *Batta* feast of this nature, and that my authority for it is considerably weakened by coming through a second or perhaps a third hand. I am sensible of the weight of this reasoning, and am not anxious to force any man's belief, much less to deceive him by pretences to the highest degree of certainty, when my relation can only lay claim to the next degree. I can only say, that I thoroughly believe the fact myself, and that my conviction has arisen from the following circumstances, some of less, some of more authority. It is, in the first place, a matter of general and

The government of the country is divided into a number of petty chief-ships, the heads of which, styled *rajas*, are seldom dependent upon any superior power; but enter into associations with each other, particularly those of the same tribe, for mutual defence and security against any distant enemy. They are extremely jealous of the increase of each others power, and on the slightest pretext a war breaks out between them. The force, however, of different *campongs* is very unequal, and some *rajas* possess a much more extensive sway than others; and it must needs be so, for every man who can get a dozen followers, and two or three muskets, sets up for independence, and scarcely acknowledges any superior. In the two districts of *Ancola* and *Mandeeling*, there appears some exception to this general defect of subordination, as they have each a sovereign *raja* over all the tribes; but their power is nominal merely, the great vassals acknowledging little subjection, but when it suits their inclination, or interest.* Inland of a place called *Sokum*, great respect was paid to a female chief, or *ootoo*, whose jurisdiction comprehended

Government.

Power of the
rajas or chiefs.

and uncontroverted notoriety in the island: I have talked on the subject with natives of the country, who acknowledge the practice, and become ashamed of it when they have resided among more humanized people: It has been my chance to have had no less than three brothers, chiefs of the settlement of *Natal* and *Tappanoochy*, where there is daily intercourse with the *Battas*, and who all assure me of the truth of it: The same account I have had from other gentlemen who had equal, or superior opportunities of knowing the customs of the people; and all their relations agree in every material point: A resident of *Tappanoochy* (Mr. Bradley) fined a *raja* a few years since, for having a prisoner eaten too close to the company's settlement: Mr. Alexander Hall made a charge in his public accounts of a sum paid to a *raja* in the country, to induce him to spare a man whom Mr. Hall had seen preparing for a victim: Mr. Charles Miller, in the journal before quoted, says "In the *Jappeon*, or house where the *raja* receives strangers, we saw a man's skull hanging up, which the *rajah* told us was placed there as a trophy, it being the skull of an enemy they had taken prisoner, whose body (according to the custom of the *Battas*) they had eaten about two months before. Thus the experience of later days is found to agree with the uniform testimony of old writers; and though I am aware that each and every of these proofs, taken singly, may admit of some cavil, yet in the aggregate I think they amount to satisfactory evidence, and such as may induce any person not very incredulous to admit it as a fact, that human flesh is eaten by inhabitants of *Sumatra*, as we have positive authority it is by inhabitants of *New Zealand*.

* The nephew is said to succeed to the place of *Raja*, in preference to the son. I have heard that this unaccountable rule is observed in some other parts of the east.

many

many tribes. Her grandson, the reigning prince, had lately been murdered by an invader, and she had assembled an army of two or three thousand men to take revenge. An agent of the Company went up the river, about fifteen miles, in hopes of being able to accommodate a matter which seemed to threaten materially the peace of the country; but he was told by the *ostee*, that unless he would land his men and guns, and take a decided part in her favor, he had no business there; and he was obliged to reembark without effecting any thing. The aggressor followed him the same night, and made his escape. It does not appear likely, from the manners and dispositions of the people, that the whole of the country has ever been united under the jurisdiction of one monarch.*

Services due
from inferiors
to their chiefs.

The more powerful *rajas* assume authority over the lives of their subjects. The dependants, in all the campongs, are bound to attend their chief in his journeys and in his wars, and when an individual refuses, he is expelled from the society, without permission to take his property along with him. The *raja* supplies them with food for their expeditions, and allows a reward of two *beenchangs*† for each person they kill. When he pays his gaming debts, he imposes what arbitrary value he thinks proper on the horses and buffalos (no coin being used in the coun-

* The account given by Mendez Pinto of his embassy to *Angee* for *Timor raja*, king of the *Battas*, in the year 1539, may perhaps be thought to contradict this observation; but it is difficult to reconcile many of the circumstances he relates, or to form an idea of the place he went to. After leaving Malacca and doubling Acheen head, he sailed for four days down the coast of the ocean, till he came to a river called *Gaateangim* (*Mayangin*), which had seven fathom water (square *Sinkell*). He proceeded eight leagues up this river, when he anchored at *Botterendas*, near *Panais*, the residence of the king. Returning, he coasted back for twenty six leagues, when he entered the straits of *Minbagaru* and then stood over to *Junkcelon*. The king mentioned his having lost two places called *Jocur* and *Lingau*, by the Achenese, who put many of his *Ooloballangs* and *Amberajas* to death, (these are Malay, not *Batta* officers), and that he had sworn by his God *Quicy Hocombinor*, the dispenser of justice, to take revenge. (This name is likewise Malay somewhat corrupted.) The king also paid adoration to a cow's head. He marched to Acheen, which is but twenty three leagues, over land, and attacked the city with fifteen thousand men. He furnished a cargo of Tin and Benjamin for the vessel Pinto came in, and sent a present of gold headed lances, *calambuca* wood, and a tortoiseshell box ornamented with gold, to the governor of Malacca.

† An imaginary valuation, about equal to four Spanish Dollars.

try) which he delivers, and his subjects are obliged to accept them at the rate he tenders them. They are forced to work a certain number of days each, in his rice plantations. There is also a lesser kind of service, for land held of any other person. The tenant is bound to pay the landlord respect wherever he meets him, and to give him entertainment whenever he comes to his house. The people seem to have an absolute and permanent property in their possessions; selling them when they think fitting to each other. If a man plants trees and leaves them, no future occupier can sell them, though he may eat the fruit.

The chief's revenues arise principally from the fines adjudged in judicial proceedings, which he always appropriates to himself; and from the produce of the benjamin and camphire trees throughout his district, which are considered as royal property; but this, in general, is not rigorously insisted on.

Revenues.

Disputes and litigations of any kind, that happen between people belonging to the same *campong*, are settled by a magistrate appointed for that purpose, and from him there is said to be no appeal to the *raja*: when they arise between persons of different campongs, they are adjusted at a meeting of the respective *rajas*. When a party is sent down to the bay, to purchase salt, or on other business, they are accompanied by an officer who takes cognizance of their behavior, and sometimes punishes upon the spot such as are criminal or refractory. This is productive of much order and decency.

Suits:

Notwithstanding the independent spirit of the *Battas*, and their contempt of all power that would effect a superiority over their little societies, they have in general a superstitious veneration for the sultan of *Menangkabow*, and shew a blind submission to his relations and emissaries, real or pretended, when such appear among them: even when insulted and put in fear of their lives, they make no attempt at resistance: they think that their affairs would never prosper; that their *paddee* would be blighted, and their buffalos die; that they would remain under a kind of spell, for offending these sacred messengers.

Respect paid to the sultan of Menangkabow.

The

War.

The spirit of war is excited among these people by small provocation, and their resolutions for carrying it into effect are soon taken. Their life appears, in fact, to be a perpetual state of hostility, and they are always prepared for attack and defence. When they proceed to put their designs into execution, the first act of defiance is firing, without ball, into the campong of their enemies. Three days are then allowed for the party fired upon, to propose terms of accommodation, and if this is not done, or the terms are such as cannot be agreed to, war is then fully declared. This ceremony of firing with powder only, is styled, "carrying smoke to the adversary." During the course of their wars, which sometimes last for two or three years, they seldom meet openly in the field, or attempt to decide their contest by a general engagement; as the mutual loss of a dozen men might go near to ruin both parties; nor do they often venture a direct attack upon each others campongs, but watch opportunities of picking off stragglers passing through the woods. A party of three or four will conceal themselves near the footways, and if they see any of their foes, they fire and run away immediately; planting *ranjows* (sharp stakes) after them, to prevent pursuit. On these occasions a man will subsist upon a potatoe a day, in which they have much the advantage of the *Malays*, (against whom they are often engaged in warfare) who require to be better fed.

Fortifications.

They fortify their campongs with large ramparts of earth, half way up which they plant brush-wood. There is a ditch without the rampart and on each side of that, a tall palisade of camphire timber. Beyond this, is an impenetrable hedge of prickly bamboo, which, when of sufficient growth, acquires a surprizing density, and perfectly conceals all appearance of a town. *Ranjows*, of a length both for the body, and the feet, are disposed without all these, and render the approaches hazardous to assailants who are almost naked. At each corner of the fortress, instead of a tower or watch-house, they contrive to have a tall tree, which they ascend to reconnoitre or fire from. But they are not fond of remaining on the defensive in their campongs, and therefore, leaving a few to guard them, usually advance into the plains, and throw up temporary

porary breastworks and entréenchments. They never engage hand to hand, always keeping at a pretty safe distance, seldom nearer than random shot, except in case of sudden surprize.

Their standard in war is a horse's head, from whence flows a long mane, or tail of hair. Their arms are matchlock guns, bamboo lances, and a side weapon like a sword, or large knife. They carry no *creese* like the Malays. Their ammunition boxes are provided with a number of little wooden cases, each containing a charge for the piece, which are just our ancient bandoleers; and in these are carried likewise their match, and smaller *sanjows*, the larger being in a joint of *bamboo*, like a quiver, slung over the shoulder. They have machines curiously carved and adorned, for holding their bullets, and others, of uncommon construction, for a reserve of gunpowder. This article they manufacture themselves, procuring their saltpetre usually from goat's dung. The matchlocks they are supplied with by traders, who bring them from *Menangcabow*, where they are made: their swords are of their own workmanship.

The natives of the sea coast exchange their benjamin and camphire, for iron, steel, brass wire, and salt; of which last, about an hundred thousand bamboos (gallons) are annually taken off in the bay of *Tappanooly*. These they barter again with the more inland inhabitants, in the mode I shall presently describe, for the products and manufactures of the country, particularly their cotton cloths; of which article very little is imported from abroad. Some wear a strip of foreign blue cloth about their heads, in imitation of the Malay *daytar*, and a few have *badjow* (outer garments) of chintz; but upon the whole, the sale of piece goods in the bay is very inconsiderable.*

R r

Having

* A great trade is carried on from *Natal* to the island of *Neas*, which lies not far distant. The articles received from thence are Rice and Slaves, and of these last not less than four hundred and fifty annually, beside about an hundred and fifty which go to the northern ports. In catching these unfortunate victims of the avarice of the chiefs, it is computed that not fewer than two hundred are killed; which together form a considerable number for such a country.

Estimate by
commodities
instead of coin.

Having no coin, all value is estimated among them by certain commodities. In trade they calculate by *tampangs* (cakes) of benjamin; in transactions among themselves, more commonly by buffalos; sometimes brass wire, and sometimes beads are used as a medium. A *galloon*, or ring of brass wire, represents about the value of a dollar. But for small payments, salt is the most in use. A measure called a *saloop*, weighing about two pounds, is equal to a *fanam* or two pence halfpenny: a *ballee*, another smaller measure, goes for four *keppeng*, or three fifths of a penny.

Fairs held

For the convenience of carrying on trade, there are established, across the country inland of *Tappanooly*, which is their great mart, four stages, at which they successively hold public *fairs* or markets, on every fourth day, regularly throughout the year; each fair lasting one day. The people in the district of the fourth stage assemble with their goods at the appointed place; to which those of the third resort and purchase of them: the people of the third, in like manner, supply the wants of the second; and the second of the first, who dispose, on the day the market is held, of the merchandize for which they have trafficked with the Europeans and Malays. On these occasions all hostilities are suspended. Each man, who possesses one, carries his musquet, with a green bough in the muzzle, as a token of peace, and afterwards, when he comes to the spot, following the example of the director or manager of the fair, discharges the loading into a mound of earth; in

to supply. The people of *Neas* are small in their persons; of a fair complexion, particularly the women, who are mostly sent to *Batavia*; but a great proportion of both sexes are infected with a species of leprosy, that covers their bodies with white scales; and their ears are made to extend in so preposterous a manner as to be often near touching their shoulders; which the purchasers of females sometimes get trimmed to the natural size. They are remarkable for their ingenuity in handicraft works, and as an instance of their skill in the arts, they practice that of letting blood by cupping, in a mode nearly similar to ours. Among the Sumatrans blood is never drawn with so salutary an intent. The language and manners of this people have a resemblance to those of the Battas; but yet differ in many material respects. Their principal food is pork, and the chiefs make a practice of ornamenting their houses with the jaws of the hogs, as well as the skulls of the enemies which they kill. They are revengeful in their tempers, and esteemed dangerous as domestic slaves; a defect in their character which philosophers will not hesitate to excuse in an independent people, torn by violence from their country and connexions.

which,

which, before his departure, he searches for his ball. There is but one house at the place where the markets are held, and that is for gaming; regular rows of fruit trees, mostly *doorean*, are planted, which serve for booths; one avenue of which is reserved for the women. People from the extremes of the north and south meet at these fairs, where all their trade is carried on.*

Their religion, like that of all the other original inhabitants of the island, is so difficult to be traced, as scarcely to afford room to say that any exists among them. Yet they have rather more of ceremony, than the people of *Rejang* or *Passumab*; and there is here an order of persons who may be denominated priests, as they perform the office of burying the dead, and of fortelling lucky and unlucky days, in the observance of which they are extremely superstitious: one of these is employed in each campong. They have some idea of a powerful Being, disposed to benevolence, and of another, the worker of ill to mankind; but they pay no worship to either: nor do they appear to entertain any hopes or apprehension of a future state. It is said that they have a name for the former, which they fear to pronounce, but I have some reason to think it the word "*Daibattab*," which I learned from a different authority; that name corresponding, as before observed, with the general name for the Deity throughout the east. The evil spirit they call *Murgiso*. Their only ceremonies that wear the appearance of religion, are those used on taking an oath; in their prognostications; and at their funeral rites. A person accused of a crime, and who asserts his innocence, is in some cases acquitted by solemnly swearing to it, but is sometimes obliged to go through a kind of ordeal. They have different modes of administering an oath. A cock's throat is usually cut on the occasion; the accused then puts a little rice into his mouth, and wishes that it may become a stone, if he is guilty of the crime with which he stands charged; or holding up a musket bullet, wishes it may be his fate to be shot, in that case. In more important instances, they put a small leaden or tin

Religion.

Oaths.

* These fairs, called *peax* by the Malays, are not confined to the *Bama* country: there are such at *Batang-capas*, and at *Jepoo*, but not attended with the same formalities.

image into the middle of a dish of rice, garnished with musquet balls; and the man, kneeling down, prays that his crop of paddee may fail, his cattle die, and that himself may never take *salt*, (which I presume is regarded as necessary to existence) if he does not declare the truth. These tin images may possibly be looked upon as objects of idolatrous worship; but I could never learn that any species of adoration was paid to them on other occasions. Like the relics of saints, they are merely employed to render the form of the oath more mysterious, and thereby increase its awfulness. I have seen carved resemblances of a horse's head, which though vulgarly called *Batta* gods, are nothing more than the standards in war before mentioned.

Divinations.

Before they go to war, they kill a buffalo, or a fowl that is perfectly white, and by observing the motion of the intestines, they judge of the good or ill fortune that will attend them. The priest who performs this ceremony had need to be infallible, for if he predicts contrary to the event, he is sometimes put to death, for his want of skill.

Funeral rites and ceremonies

When a *raja*, or person of consequence, dies, the funeral usually takes up several months; that is, the corpse is kept, for so long a space of time, unburied; until the neighbouring and distant rajas, and in common cases, till the relations and creditors of the deceased, can be assembled, in order to celebrate the rites with becoming dignity. Perhaps the season of planting, or of harvest intervenes, and these necessary occupations must be first attended to, before the ceremonies can be concluded. The corpse, in the mean time, is deposited in a sort of coffin, made of the hollowed trunk of the *anon* tree, well covered over with *dammar* or resin. A bamboo tube, however, is inserted in the lower part of the coffin, and passing thence into the ground, serves to carry away the offensive matter; so that in fact the bones alone remain.

When the people assemble, the coffin is brought out, and set down in an open space. Each of the women who arrives, brings a basket of rice, and places it near the corpse: they dance round it, and make merry,
till

till the provision is expended; one or more buffalos, or horses, being killed and feasted on at the same time. The priest then, (whose limbs are *tattooed* in the shape of birds and beasts, and painted of different colors)* takes a piece of buffalo's flesh; swings it about, throwing himself into violent attitudes, and strange contortions; and then eats the morsel in a voracious manner. He afterwards kills a fowl over the dead body, letting the blood run upon the coffin; he then takes a broom, of the coco-nut fibres, and sweeps furiously about him, as if to chase away some evil spirit; when suddenly, four men, appointed for the purpose, lift up the coffin, and run quickly off with it, as if escaping from the fiend; the priest continuing to sweep after it for some distance. It is then put into the ground, at the depth of three or four feet; the earth about the grave is raised; a shed built over it; and the horns of the buffalos killed upon the occasion are nailed to the posts.† The people then depart in peace to their respective homes.

This nation has preserved the original genuineness of its character and manners, more unmixed than any other inhabitants, at least of the northern parts of the island. This may be owing to several causes; as their distance in general from the sea coast, and total unacquaintance with navigation; and to the want of gold in their country (except at the southern extremity) to excite the rapacity of invaders, or avarice of colonists; the vegetable riches of the soil being no object for such, as they are more advantageously obtained in trade, from the unmolested labors of the natives themselves. To this we may add, the divided nature of the government, and confined independence of the petty chiefs, which is un-

Originality
preserved in
this nation.

Causes of this.

* In the *Nassau* islands (called by the Malays the *Poggees*) the inhabitants (*orang Mantawaye*) are universally tattooed in this manner, and their skin discolored. This custom appears to have been once very general in this part of the east, but an intercourse with other nations causes it to wear away. Beside the *pintados* of the Philippines, it prevails among the people of *Laos*, and has been observed of the *Siameze*. See an Historical Relation of Expeditions to those islands by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq;

† Mr. Miller says he was present at killing the hundred and sixth buffalo at the grave of a raja, which ceremony they continue for a year after the interment.

favorable

favorable to the propagation of new opinions and customs, (as the adoption of them by no one raja would serve as authority to others, but the contrary) and which is not the case where the people are united under one head, whom they look up to as the standard of their conduct. This was probably the reason of the complete conversion of the subjects of *Menangkabow* to Mahometanism. And lastly, it may be presumed that the idea maintained of the ferociousness of the people, from their practice of eating their prisoners, might probably damp the ardor, and restrain the zealous attempts of religious innovators.

Kingdom

Kingdom of Acheen—Present state of its Commerce—Air and Soil—Inhabitants—Government—Revenues—Modes of punishing Criminals.

ACHEEN (properly *Aché*)* is the only kingdom of Sumatra, that ever arrived to such a degree of political consequence in the world, as to occasion its transactions becoming the subject of general history. But its present condition is widely different from what it was, when by its power the Portuguese were expelled from the island, and its princes received embassies from all the great potentates of Europe.

Its situation occupies the North Western extreme of the island. The Situation. extent, strictly speaking, reaches no farther, inland, than about forty or fifty miles, to the south east, and now but little farther even on the sea coast; though formerly its king boasted a dominion as far down as *Indrapour*, and possessed a complete jurisdiction at *Ticoo*. A place called *Carty*, not far distant from *Batteo Bara* river forms the boundary on the east coast; the principal intermediate towns being *Pedeer*, *Samerlonga*, and *Pasay*. On the west coast it extends to *Baroos*; between which and *Acheen*, lie *Tappoos*, *Sinkell*, *Tampat Tooan*, *Labooan Hadjee*, *Soofoo*, *Nalaboo*, *Arigas*, and *Dyab*.

The interior inhabitants, from *Acheen* to *Sinkell*, are distinguished into those of *Allas*, *Reeah*, and *Carrow*. The Achenese manners prevail among the two former, but the *Carrow* people resemble the *Batras*, from whose country they are divided by a chain of mountains.

On a river which empties itself near the north west point, or Acheen head, stands the capital, about two miles from the *qualloe* or mouth, in Capital. a wide valley, formed like an amphitheatre, by two lofty ranges of hills. The river is not large, and by emptying itself in several channels, is rendered very shallow at the bar. In the dry monsoon it will not admit boats of any burthen, much less large vessels, which lie without, in the

* It is said, by the Malays, to have been so named from a species of tree called *Aché*, peculiar to that place.

Present state of
its commerce.

road formed by the islands off the point. Though no longer the great mart of eastern commodities, it still carries on a considerable trade with the natives of that part of the coast of *Indoestan* called *Telinga*,* who supply it with the cotton goods of their country, and receive in return, gold dust, sapan wood, betel-nut, patch-leaf,† a little pepper, sulphur, camphire, and benjamin. The two last are carried thither from the ports of *Sinkell* and *Tappoos*, and the pepper from places more to the southward; *Acheen* itself not producing any in these days, nor in much abundance at any former period, though cargoes were often taken in from thence. There are employed in this commerce, from six to ten *Telinga* snows, of an hundred and fifty or two hundred tons burthen, which arrive annually about August, and sail again in February and March. They are not permitted to touch at any places on the east or west coast, that are under the king of Acheen's jurisdiction, as he would suffer both in the profits of the trade, the port customs, and the presents usually made on the arrival of vessels, which, in that case, his dependants would share with him. The people of Acheen themselves carry the cloth to these markets after the duties, and other advantages to the king have been received, who is, as is usual with the princes in that part of the world, the chief merchant of his capital, and frequently the monopolizer of its trade. There is likewise a ship from *Surat* every year, and sometimes two, the property of native merchants there. The country is supplied with *Bengal* opium, and also with iron, and many other articles of merchandize, by the European traders.

Air.

Acheen is esteemed, comparatively, healthy, being more free from woods and swamps than most other portions of the island; and the fevers and dysenteries to which these are supposed to give occasion, are there said to be uncommon. But this must not be too readily credited; for the degree of salubrity attending situations in that climate, from inscrutable causes, is known so frequently to alter, that a person who has re-

* *Telinga*, or *Telingana*, is properly the country lying between the *Kistna* and *Godavery* rivers, but it would seem that the eastern people apply that name (which they corruptly pronounce, *Cling*) to the whole of the coast of *Coromandel*.

† This is the *pachoubaout* or *costus Indicus*, and called *delum* by the Malays.

fided

Indeed only two or three years on a spot, cannot pretend to form a judgment; and the natives, from a natural partiality, are always ready to extol the healthiness, as well as other-imputed advantages of their own particular countries.

The soil is light and fertile, and the products, beside those which I have enumerated as articles of export trade, and a variety of fine fruits, are chiefly rice and cotton. There is likewise a little raw silk procured in the country, of very inferior quality. Gold dust is collected in the mountains near *Acheen*, but the greatest part is brought from the southern ports of *Nalaboo* and *Soofoo*.* The sulphur is gathered from a volcano mountain in the neighbourhood, which supplies their own consumption for the manufacture of gunpowder, and admits of a large exportation.

Soil.

The Achenese differ extremely, in their persons, from the rest of the Sumatrans, being, in general, taller, stouter, and much darker complexioned. They are by no means, in their present state, a genuine people, but thought, with great appearance of reason, to be a mixture of *Battas*, *Malays*, and *Moors* from the west of India. In their dispositions they are more active and industrious than their neighbours; they possess more penetration and sagacity; have more general knowledge; and as merchants, they deal upon a more extensive and liberal footing. But in this latter respect, I speak rather of the traders at a distance from the capital, and their transactions, than of the conduct observed at *Acheen*, which, according to the temper of the reigning monarch, is often narrow, extortionary, and oppressive. Their religion is Mahometanism, and having a great number of mosques and priests, its forms and ceremonies are observed with some strictness.

Inhabitants.

The appearance of the town, and the nature of the buildings,† are much the same as are found in the generality of Malay bazars, excepting

Buildings.

* In the estimate, p. 137, of the quantity of gold exported from the island, I did not include *Acheen*, and I under-rated the produce of *Padang* by at least one third, not making allowance for private traffick, which, though contraband, is very considerable.

† The following description of the appearance of *Acheen*, by a Jesuit missionary who touched there in his way to China in 1698, is so picturesque, and at the same time so just, that I shall

ing that the superior wealth of this place has occasioned the erection of a greater number of public edifices, but without the remotest pretensions to magnificence. The king's palace, if it deserves the appellation, is a very rude and uncouth piece of architecture, designed to resist the force of an enemy, and surrounded for that purpose with strong walls, but without any regular plan, or view to the modern system of military attack.* The houses in common are built of bamboos and rough timber, and raised some feet from the ground, on account of the place being overflowed in the rainy season.

Manufactures.

Those few arts and manufactures which are known in other parts of the island, prevail likewise here, and some of them are carried to more perfection. A considerable fabrick of a thick species of cotton cloth, and of stuff for the short drawers worn both by Malays and Achenese,

make no apology for introducing it. "Imaginez vous une forêt de cocotiers, de bambous, d'ananas, de bagnaniers, au milieu de laquelle passe une assez belle rivière toute couverte de bateaux; mettez dans cette forêt une nombre incroyable de maisons faites avec de cannes, de roseaux, des écorces, et disposez les de telle manière qu'elles forment tantôt des rues, et tantôt des quartiers séparés: coupez ces divers quartiers de prairies & de bois: repandez par tout dans cette grande forêt, autant d'hommes qu'on en voit dans nos villes, lorsqu'elles sont bien peuplées; vous vous formerez une idée assez juste d'Achen; et vous conviendrez qu'une ville de ce goût nouveau peut faire plaisir à des étrangers qui passent. Elle me parut d'abord comme ces paysages sortis de l'imagination d'un peintre ou d'un poète, qui rassemble sous un coup d'œil, tout ce que la campagne a de plus riant. Tout est négligé et naturel, champêtre et même un peu sauvage. Quand on est dans la rade, on n'apperçoit aucun vestige, ni aucune apparence de ville, parceque des grands arbres qui bordent le rivage en cachent toutes les maisons; mais outre le paysage qui est très beau, rien n'est plus agréable que de voir de matin un infinité de petits bateaux de pêcheurs qui sortent de la rivière avec le jour, et qui ne rentrent que le soir, lorsque le soleil se couche. Vous diriez un essaim d'abeilles qui reviennent à la cruche chargées du fruit de leur travail." Lettres Edifiantes, Tom. 1.

* Near the gate of the palace are several pieces of brass ordnance of an extraordinary size; of which some are Portuguese; but two in particular, of English make, attract curiosity. They were sent by king James the first to the reigning monarch of Acheen, and have still the founder's name, and the date, legible upon them. The diameter of the bore of one is eighteen inches; of the other twenty-two or twenty-four. Their strength however does not appear to be in proportion to the caliber, nor do they seem in other respects to be of adequate dimensions. James, who abhorred bloodshed himself, was resolved that his present should not be the instrument of it to others.

is established, and supplies an extensive demand. They weave also very handsome silk pieces, of a particular form, for that part of the dress which is called by the Malays, *cayen sarrong*; but their silk manufacture has much decreased within these twelve years, owing, as they say, to an unavoidable failure in the breed of silkworms; or more probably to the decay of industry amongst themselves.

They are expert and bold navigators, and employ a variety of vessels, according to the voyages they have occasion to undertake, and the purposes, either of commerce or war, for which they design them. the river is covered with a multitude of fishing *sampans* or canoes, which go to sea with the morning breeze, and return in the afternoon, with the sea wind, full laden. Navigation.

Having no convenient coins, though most species of money will be taken there at a valuation, they commonly make their payments in gold dust, and for that purpose are all provided with scales or small steelyards (*datchin*). They carry their gold about them, wrapped up in pieces of bladder, and often purchase to so small an amount, as to make use of grains of paddee, or other seeds for weights. Their principal standard weight is the *buncal*, of one ounce, ten penny weights, and twenty one grains. The *tael*, an imaginary valuation, is one fifth of a buncal of gold, and is equal to sixteen *mace*, which are very small gold pieces, of the value of fifteen pence each.

The monarchy is hereditary, and is more or less absolute, in proportion to the talents of the reigning prince: no other bounds being set to his authority, than the counterbalance or check it meets with, from the power of the great vassals, and disaffection of the commonalty. But this resistance is exerted in so irregular a manner, and with so little view to the public good, that nothing like liberty results from it. They experience only an alternative of tyranny and anarchy, or the former under different shapes. Many of the other Sumatran people are in the possession of a very high degree of freedom, founded upon a right at-

Government.

tachment to their old established customs and laws. The king usually maintains a guard of an hundred Sepoys (from the *Coromandel* coast) about his palace, but pays them indifferently.

The grand council of the nation consists of, the King or *Sultan*, four *Ookoballangs*, and eight of a lower degree, who sit on his right hand, and sixteen *Cajoorangs*, who sit on his left. At the king's feet sits a woman, to whom he makes known his pleasure: by her it is communicated to an Eunuch, who sits next to her, and by him to an officer named *Cajoorang Gondong*, who then proclaims it aloud to the assembly. There are also present two other officers, one of whom has the government of the *Bazar* or market, and the other, the superintending and carrying into execution the punishment of criminals. All matters relative to commerce and the customs of the port come under the jurisdiction of the *Shabandar*, who performs the ceremony of giving the *chap* or license for trade; which is done by lifting a golden haisted wreath over the head of the merchant who arrives, and without which he dares not to land his goods. Presents, the value of which are become pretty regularly ascertained, are then sent to the king and his officers. If the stranger be in the style of an ambassador, the royal elephants are sent down to carry him and his letters to the monarch's presence; these being first delivered into the hands of an eunuch who places them in a silver dish, covered with rich silk, on the back of the largest elephant, which is provided with a machine (*bouder*) for that purpose. Within about an hundred yards of an open hall where the king sits, the cavalcade stops, and the ambassador dismounts, and makes his obeisance by bending his body, and lifting his joined hands to his head. When he enters the palace, if an European, he is obliged to take off his shoes, and having made a second obeisance, is seated upon a carpet on the floor, where *betel* is brought to him. The throne was some years ago of ivory and tortoiseshell, and when the place was governed by Queens, a curtain of gauze was hung before it, which did not obstruct the audience, but prevented any perfect view. The stranger, after some general discourse, is then conducted to a separate building where he is entertained with the delicacies of the country, by the officers of state, and in the evening returns

returns in the manner he came, furrounded by a prodigious number of lights. On high days (*aree ryab*) the king goes in great state mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, to the great mosque, preceded by his *oolooballangs*; who are armed nearly in the European manner.

The country under the immediate jurisdiction of Acheen, is divided into three districts, named *Duo pooloo duo*, *Duo pooloo lemo*, and *Duo pooloo anam*. Each district is governed by a *Pangleemo*, and under him, an *Imaum* and four *Pangeechees* to each mosque. The country is wonderfully populous, but the computations with which I have been furnished, exceed so far all probability, that I do not venture to insert them. The number of mosques in the three districts is said to be, in the first, five hundred, in the second two hundred, and in the third four hundred; which also appears incredible, considering the small extent of territory that the whole includes. Could we suppose the account just, we must allow them to be the most devoted to religion of any people on the face of the earth.

The only regular tax or imposition the country is subject to, for the use of the crown, is a measure of rice, annually, from each proprietor of land, which they carry in person to the court; and this can be looked upon only as a token of homage, for they never fail to receive from the king, an equivalent in return, of tobacco or some other article. His revenues arise solely from the import and export customs, which I am informed, amount to forty catties weight (each being estimated at one pound and a third*) of gold; or about two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, yearly. The *Telinga* merchants pay very high duties; in the whole not less than fifteen per cent. The revenues of the nobles arise from taxes on the different countries under their respective jurisdictions, At *Pedeer*, a measure of *rice* is paid to the feudal lord for every measure

Revenues.

* The weight of the *catty* differs extremely—In some places, and I believe at *Malacca*, it is reckoned at 30 oz. 17dwt. 12gr. troy.

of *paddee* sown, which is about the twentieth part of the produce of the land. At *Nalaboo* there is a capitation tax of a dollar a year. At various places on the inland roads, there are tolls collected upon provisions and goods which pass.

The kings of *Acbeen* possess a grant of territory along the sea coast, as far down as *Bencoolen*, from the sultan of *Menangcabow*, whose superiority has always been admitted by them, and will be, perhaps, so long as he claims no authority over them, and exacts neither tribute nor homage.

Administra-
tion of justice.

Punishments.

Acbeen has ever been remarkable for the severity with which crimes are punished by their laws; the same rigour still subsists, and there is no commutation admitted, as is regularly established in the southern countries. There is great reason however to conclude, that the poor alone experience the rod of justice; the nobles being secure from retribution in the number of their dependants. Petty theft is punished by suspending the criminal from a tree, with a gun or heavy weight tied to his feet; or by cutting off a finger, a hand, or leg, according to the nature of the theft. Many of these mutilated, and wretched objects are daily to be seen in the streets. Robbery on the highway and housebreaking are punished by drowning, and afterwards exposing the body on a stake for a few days. If the robbery is committed upon an *Imaum* or priest, the sacrilege is expiated by burning the criminal alive. A man who is convicted of adultery, is seldom attempted to be screened by his friends, but is delivered up to the friends and relations of the injured husband. These take him to some large plain, and forming themselves in a circle, place him in the middle. A large weapon called a *Gadoobong*, is then delivered to him by one of his family, and if he can force his way through those who surround him, and make his escape, he is not liable to further prosecution; but it commonly happens that he is instantly cut to pieces. In this case his relations bury him as they would a dead buffalo, refusing to admit the corpse into their house, or to perform any funeral rites. Would it not be reasonable

able to conclude, that the Achenese, with so much discouragement to vice, both from law and prejudice, must prove a moral and virtuous people? yet all travellers agree in representing them as one of the most dishonest and flagitious nations of the east; which the history of their government will tend to corroborate.

History

*History of the kingdom of Acheen and the countries adjacent, from the period of their discovery by Europeans.**

THE Portuguese, under the conduct of Vasco de Gama, doubled the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1497, and arrived on the coast of Malabar in the following year. These people, whom the spirit of glory, commerce, and plunder, led to the most magnanimous undertakings, were not so entirely engaged by their conquests on the continent of Indostan, but that they turned their idea to the discovery of regions yet more distant. They learned from the merchants of Guzerat some account of the riches and importance of Malacca, a great trading city in the farther peninsula of India, supposed by them the Golden Chersonese of Ptolemy. Intelligence of this was transmitted to their enterprising sovereign, Emanuel, who became impressed with a strong desire to avail himself of the flattering advantages which this celebrated country held out to his ambition. He equipped a fleet of four ships under the command of Diogo Lopez Sequeira, which sailed from Lisbon on the eighth day of April 1508, with orders to explore, and establish connexions in those eastern parts of Asia. After touching at Madagascar, Sequeira proceeded to Cochin, where a ship was added to his fleet, and departing from thence on the eighth of September 1509, he made sail towards Malacca; but having doubled the extreme promontory of Sumatra (then called Taprobane) he anchored at *Pedeer*,† a principal port of that island,

1508.

1509.

* A regularly connected detail it is impossible to furnish from the imperfect and obscure accounts which have been handed down to us of the transactions of this part of the world; but yet it will not be esteemed a labor quite useless and unsatisfactory, thus to collect and arrange, in the order of their dates, the many events, more or less detached, which historians and navigators have recorded in their writings.

† *Pedeer* and *Pasay* were anciently the places of most importance in this part of Sumatra. The power of the former, which had been predominant, was beginning to decline about the period of the Portuguese discovery, and that of *Pasay* to gain the ascendancy. *De Barros*. Mention is made of *Pedeer* by *Ludovicus Variomanus*, who wrote some years previous to this time, and had himself visited it in 1504. The writers whose accounts I chiefly follow in this early part of the history, are *De Barros* and *Oforius*.

in which he found vessels from Pegu, Bengal, and other countries. The king of the place, who, like other Mahometan princes, was styled Sultan, sent off a deputation to him, accompanied with refreshments, by which he excused himself, on account of illness, from paying his compliments in person; assuring him at the same time that he should derive much pleasure from the friendship and alliance of the Portuguese, whose fame had reached his ears. Sequeira answered this message in such terms, that by consent of the sultan, a monument of their amity was erected on the shore; or more properly as the token of discovery and possession usually employed by the European nations. He was received in the same manner at a place called *Pasay*, lying about twenty leagues farther to the eastward on the same coast, and there also erected a monument or cross. Having procured at each of these ports as much pepper as could be collected in a short time, he hastened to Malacca, where the news of his appearance in those seas had anticipated his arrival. Here he was near falling a sacrifice to the insidious policy of Mahumad the reigning king, to whom the Portuguese had been represented by the Arabian and Persian merchants, (and not very unjustly) as lawless pirates, who under the pretext of establishing commercial treaties, had, at first by encroachments, and afterwards with rapacious insolence, ruined and enslaved the princes who were weak enough to put a confidence in them, or to allow them a footing in their dominions. He escaped the snares that were laid for him, but lost many of his people, and leaving others in captivity, he returned to Europe, and gave an account of his proceedings to the king.

A fleet was sent out, in the year 1510, under Diogo Mendez, to establish the Portuguese interests at Malacca; but Affonso d'Albuquerque, the governor of their affairs in India, thought proper to detain this squadron on the coast of Malabar, until he could proceed thither himself with a greater force; and accordingly on the second of May 1511, he set sail from Cochin with nineteen ships and fourteen hundred men. He touched at Pedee, where he found some of his countrymen who had made their escape from Malacca in a boat, and sought protection

on the Samatran shore. They represented, that arriving off Pasay, they had been ill treated by the natives, who killed one of their party, and obliged them to fly to Pedeer, where they met with hospitality and kindness from the prince, who seemed desirous to conciliate the regard of their nation. Alboquerque expressed himself sensible of this instance of friendship, and renewed with the sultan the alliance that had been formed by Sequeira. He then proceeded to Pasay, whose monarch endeavored to exculpate himself from the outrage committed against the Portuguese fugitives, and as he could not tarry to take redress, he concealed his resentment. In crossing over to Malacca, he fell in with a large junk, or country vessel, which he engaged, and attempted to board; but the enemy setting fire to a quantity of inflammable, oleaginous matter, he was deterred from his design, with a narrow escape of the destruction of his own ship. The junk was then battered from a distance, until forty of her men were killed, when Alboquerque, admiring the bravery of the crew, proposed to them, that if they would strike, and acknowledge themselves vassals of Portugal, he would treat them as friends, and take them under his protection. This offer was accepted, and the valiant defender of the vessel informed the governor, that his name was *Geinal*,* the lawful heir of the kingdom of Pasay; he by whom it was then ruled being an usurper, who taking advantage of his minority, and his own situation as regent, had seized the crown; that he had made attempts to assert his rights, but had been defeated in two battles, and was now proceeding with his adherents to Java, some of the princes of which were his relations, and would, he hoped, enable him to obtain possession of his throne. Alboquerque promised to effect it for him, and desired the prince to accompany him to Malacca, where they arrived the first of July 1511.

1511.

In order to save the lives of the Portuguese prisoners, and if possible to effect their recovery, he negotiated with the king of Malacca before he proceeded to an attack on the place; which conduct of his, *Geinal*

* Or *Geinal* according to *Osorius*.

continued

construed into fear, and forsaking his new friend, he passed over in the night to the Malay monarch, whose protection he thought of more consequence to him. When Alboquerque had subdued the place, which made a vigorous resistance, the prince of Pasay, seeing the error of his policy, returned, and threw himself at the governor's feet, acknowledged his injurious mistrust, and implored his pardon; which was not denied him. He doubted, however, it seems, of a sincere reconciliation and forgiveness, and perceiving that no measures were taking for restoring him to his kingdom, but, on the contrary, that Alboquerque was preparing to leave Malacca with a small force, and talked of performing his promise when he should return from Goa, he took the resolution of again attaching himself to the fortunes of the conquered monarch, and secretly connecting his dependants, fled once more from the protection of the Portuguese. He probably was not insensible that the reigning king of Pasay, his adversary, had for some time taken abundant pains to procure the favor of Alboquerque, dreading the effects of his power, and had embraced every opportunity of recommending himself to his friendship. An occasion offered of demonstrating his zeal. Alboquerque, on his return from Malacca, met with a violent storm on the coast of Sumatra, near the point of Timiang, where his ship was wrecked. Part of the crew making a raft were driven to Pasay, where the king treated them with kindness, and sent them to the coast of Coromandel, by a merchant ship. Some years after these events, Geinal was enabled by his friends to carry a force to Pasay, and obtained the ascendancy there, but did not long enjoy his power.

Upon the reduction of Malacca, the governor received messages from several of the Sumatran princes, and amongst the rest from the king of a place called *Campar*, on the eastern coast, who had married a daughter of the king of Malacca, but was on ill terms with his father-in-law. He desired to become a vassal of the Portuguese crown, and to have leave to reside under their jurisdiction. His view was to obtain the important office of Bandara, or chief magistrate of the Malays, lately vacant by the execution of him who possessed it. He sent before him a present

1514.

of lignum aloes and gum lac, the produce of his country; but Albuquerque suspecting the honesty of his intentions, and fearing that he either aspired to the crown of Malacca, or designed to entice the merchants to resort to his own kingdom, refused to permit his coming, and gave the superintendence of the natives to a person named *Nina Chetuan*. After some years had elapsed, at the time when Jorge Albuquerque was governor of Malacca, this king (*Abdallah* by name) persisting in his views, paid him a visit, and was honorably received. At his departure, he had assurances given him of liberty to establish himself at Malacca, if he should think proper, and Nina Chetuan was shortly afterwards removed from his office, though no fault was alledged against him. He took the disgrace so much to heart, that causing a pile to be erected before his door, and setting fire to it, he threw himself into the flames.* The intention of appointing Abdallah to the office of bandara, was quickly rumored abroad, and coming to the knowledge of the king of Bintang, who was driven from Malacca, and now carried on a vigorous war against the Portuguese, under the command of the famous *Lafemanna*, he resolved to prevent his arrival there. For this purpose he leagued himself with the king of Lingen, a neighbouring island, and sent out a fleet of seventy armed boats to block up the port of Campar. By the valor of a small Portuguese armament, this force was overcome in the river of that name, and the king conducted in triumph to Malacca, where he was invested in form with the important post he aspired to. But this sacrifice of his independence proved an unfortunate measure to him; for although he conducted himself in such a manner as should have given the amplest satisfaction, and appears to have been irreproachable in the execution of his trust, yet in the following year the king of Bintang found means to inspire the governor with diffidence of his fidelity, and jealousy of his power. He was cruelly sentenced to death, without the simplest forms of justice, and perished in

1515

* This man was not a Mahometan, but one of the unconverted natives of the peninsula, who are always distinguished from the Malays by the Portuguese writers. I have some doubt whether the term *Malayo* is at all applicable to the inland people, or their country.

the presence of an indignant multitude, whilst he called heaven to witness his innocence, and direct its vengeance against his interested accusers. This iniquitous and impolitic proceeding had such an effect upon the minds of the people, that all of any property or repute, forsook the place, execrating the government of the Portuguese. The consequences of this general odium reduced them to extreme difficulties for provisions, which the neighbouring countries refused to supply them with, and but for some grain at length procured from Siak, with much trouble, the event had proved fatal to the garrison.

Fernando Perez d'Andrade, in his way to China, touched at Pasay, ^{1516.} in order to take in pepper. He found the people of the place, as well as the merchants from Bengal, Cambay, and other parts of India, much discontented with the measures then pursuing by the government of Malacca, which had stationed an armed force to oblige all vessels to resort thither with their merchandize, and take in at that place, as an emporium, the cargoes they were used to collect in the straits. The king, notwithstanding, received Andrade well, and consented that the Portuguese should have liberty to erect a fortress in his kingdom.

Extraordinary accounts having been related of certain islands abounding in gold, which were reported by the general fame of India, to lie ^{1520.} off the southwest coast of Sumatra, a ship and small brigantine, under the command of Diogo Pacheco, an experienced seaman, were sent in order to make the discovery of them. Having proceeded as far as *Daya*, the brigantine was lost in a gale of wind, Pacheco stood on to *Baroes*, a place renowned for its gold trade, and for gum benjamin of a peculiar scent which the country produced. It was much frequented by vessels, both from the neighbouring ports in the island, and from those in the West of India, whence it was supplied with cotton cloths. The merchants, terrified at the approach of the Portuguese, forsook their ships, and fled precipitately to the shore. The chiefs of the country sent to inquire the motives of his visit, which he informed them were to establish friendly connexions, and to give them assurances

assurances of unmolested freedom of trade at the city of Malacca. Refreshments were then ordered for his fleet, and upon landing he was treated with respect by the inhabitants, who brought the articles of their country to exchange with him for merchandize. His chief view was to obtain information respecting the situation and other circumstances of the *ilhas d'Ouro*; but they seemed jealous of imparting it. At length, after giving him a labored detail of the dangers attending the navigation of the seas where they were said to lie, they represented their situation to be distant an hundred leagues, to the southeast of *Baroos*, amidst labyrinths of shoals and reefs, through which it was impossible to steer with any but the smallest boats. If these islands, so celebrated about this time, existed any where but in the regions of fancy,* they were probably those called the *Ticpos*, to which it is possible that much gold might be brought from the neighbouring country of *Menangkabow*. Pacheco leaving *Baroos*, proceeded to the southward, but did not make the wished for discovery. He reached the channel that divides Sumatra from Java, which he called the strait of *Polimban*, from a city he erroneously supposed to lie on the Javan shore, and passing through this, returned to Malacca by the east; being the first European who sailed round the island of Sumatra. In the following year he sailed once more in search of these islands, which were afterwards the object of many fruitless voyages; but touching again at *Baroos*, he met with resistance there, and perished with all his companions.

A little before this time, a ship under the command of *Gaspar d'Acosta* was lost on the island of *Gamispola* (*poolo Gomez*) near *Acheen* head, when the people from *Acheen* attacked and plundered the crew, killing many, and taking the rest prisoners. A ship also which belonged to *Joano de Lima*, was plundered in the road, and the Portuguese which belonged to her put to death. These insults, and others committed at *Pasay*, induced the governor of Malacca, *Garcia de Sa*, to dispatch a vessel under *Manuel*

* *Linschoten* makes particular mention of having seen them, and gives practical directions for the navigation, but the golden dreams of the Portuguese were never realized in them.

Pacheco, to take satisfaction; which he endeavored to effect by blocking up the ports, and depriving the towns of all sources of provision, particularly their fisheries. As he cruised between Acheen nigh to Pafay, a boat with five men going to take in fresh water at a river near the latter, was near being cut off, had not the people, by wonderful efforts of valor, overcome the numerous party which attacked them. The sultan, alarmed for the consequences of this affray, sent immediately to sue for reconciliation, offering to make atonement for the loss of property the merchants had sustained by the licentiousness of his people, from a participation in whose crimes he endeavored to vindicate himself. The advantage derived from the connexion with this place, induced the government of Malacca to be satisfied with his apology, and cargos of pepper and raw silk were shortly after procured there; the former being much wanted for the ships bound to China.

Geinal who had fled to the king of Malacca, as before mentioned, followed that monarch to the island of Bintang, and received one of his daughters in marriage. Six or seven years elapsed before the situation of affairs enabled the king to lend him any effectual assistance, but at length some victories gained over the Portuguese afforded a proper opportunity, and accordingly a fleet was fitted out, with which Geinal sailed for Pafay. In order to form a judgment of the transactions of this kingdom, it must be understood, that the people having an idea of predestination; always conceived present possession to constitute right, however that possession might have been acquired: but yet they made no scruple of deposing and murdering their sovereigns, and justified their acts by this argument; that the fate of concerns so important as the lives of kings, was in the hands of God, whose vicegerents they were, and that if it was not agreeable to him, and the consequence of his will, that they should perish by the daggers of their subjects, it could not so happen. Thus it appears that their religious ideas were just strong enough to banish from their minds every moral sentiment. The natural consequence of these maxims was, that their kings were merely the tyrants of the day; and it is said that whilst a certain ship remained
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in the port, no less than two were murdered and a third set up : but allowance should perhaps be made for the medium through which these accounts have been transmitted to us.

The maternal uncle of Geinal, who, on account of his father's infirmities, had been some time regent, and had deprived him of the succession to the throne, was also king of *Aru (Rou)* a country not far distant, and thus became monarch of both places. The caprices of the Pasay people, who submitted quietly to his usurpation, rendered them ere long discontented with his government, and being a stranger they had the less compunction in putting him to death. Another king was set up in his room, who soon fell by the hands of some natives of Aru who resided at Pasay, in revenge for the assassination of their countryman. A fresh monarch was elected by the people, and in his reign it was that Geinal appeared with a force from Bintang, who carrying every thing before him, put his rival to death, and took possession of the throne. The son of the deceased, a youth of about twelve years of age, made his escape, accompanied by the chief priest of the city, who was named *Moulana*,* and procured a conveyance to the west of India. There they threw themselves at the feet of the Portuguese governor, Lopez Sequeira, then engaged in an expedition to the Red Sea, imploring his aid to drive the invader from their country, and to establish the young prince in his rights, who would thenceforth consider himself as a vassal of the crown of Portugal. It was urged that Geinal, as being nearly allied to the king of Bintang, was an avowed enemy to that nation, which he had manifested in some recent outrages committed against the merchants from Malacca who traded at Pasay. Sequeira, partly from compassion, and partly from political motives, resolved to succour this prince, and by placing him on the throne, establish a firm interest in the affairs of his kingdom. He accordingly gave orders to Jorge Albuquerque, who was then proceeding with a strong fleet towards Malacca, to take the youth with him, whose

* *Moulana* is a word signifying a certain rank of the priesthood, and has been mistaken for a proper name by the Portuguese writers.

name was *Orfacam*,* and after having expelled Geinal from the sovereignty, to put him in possession of it.

When Geinal entered upon the administration of the political concerns of the kingdom, although he had promised his father-in-law to carry on the war in concert with him, yet being apprehensive of the effects of the Portuguese power, he judged it more for his interest to seek a reconciliation with them, than to provoke their resentment, and in pursuance of that system, had so far recommended himself to Garcia de Sa, the governor of Malacca, that he formed a treaty of alliance with him. This was, however, soon interrupted, and chiefly by the imprudence of a man named Diogo Vaz, who made use of such insulting language to the king, because he delayed payment of a sum of money he owed him, that the courtiers, seized with indignation, immediately stabbed him with their creeses, and the alarm running through the city, others of the Portuguese were likewise murdered. The news of this affair reaching Goa, was an additional motive for the resolution taken of dethroning Geinal.

Jorge d'Albuquerque arrived at Pasay in 1521, with prince Orfacam, and the inhabitants came off in great numbers to welcome his return. The king of Aru had brought thither a considerable force the preceding day, designing to take satisfaction for the murder of his relation, the uncle of Geinal†, and now proposed to Albuquerque that they should make the attack in conjunction, who thought proper to decline it. Geinal, although he well knew the intention of the enemy, yet sent a friendly message to Albuquerque, who in answer required him to relinquish his crown in favor of him whom he styled the lawful prince. He then represented to him the injustice of attempting to force him from the

* Evidently corrupted, as are most of the country names and titles; which shews that the Portuguese were not at this period much conversant in the Malay language.

† The revolutions at Pasay were so quick, that when an injury was committed against any foreign power, their forces could never take revenge before another prince had ascended the throne,

possession of what was his, not only by right of conquest, but of hereditary descent, as was well known to the governor himself: that he was willing to consider himself as the vassal of the king of Portugal, and to grant every advantage in point of trade, that they could expect from the administration of his rival: that since his obtaining the crown he had manifested the utmost friendship to the Portuguese, for which he appealed to the treaty formed with him by the government of Malacca, and which was not disturbed by any fault that could in justice be imputed to him. These arguments, like all others that pass between states which harbour inimical designs, had no effect upon Albuquerque, who after reconnoitring the ground, gave orders for the attack. Geinal was now sensible that there was nothing left for him but to conquer or die, and resolved to defend himself to extremity, in an intrenchment he had formed at some distance from the town of Pasay, where he had never yet ventured to reside, as the people were in general incensed against him on account of the destruction of the late king of their choice: for though they were ever ready to demolish those whom they disliked, yet were they equally zealous to sacrifice their own lives, in the cause of those to whom they were attached. The Portuguese force consisted but of three hundred men, yet such was the superiority they possessed in war over the inhabitants of these countries, that they entirely routed Geinal's army which amounted to three thousand, with many elephants, although they fought bravely. When he fell, they became dispirited, and the people of Aru joining on the pursuit, a dreadful slaughter succeeded, and upwards of two thousand Sumatrans lay dead, with the loss of only five or six Europeans; but several were wounded, among whom was Albuquerque himself.

The next measure was to place the young prince upon the throne, which was performed with much ceremony. Moulana the priest was appointed his governor, and Nina Cunapam, who in several instances had shewn a friendship for the Portuguese, was continued in the office of Shabandar. It was stipulated that the prince should do homage to the crown of Portugal; give a grant of the whole produce of pepper
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of his country at a certain price; and defray the charges of a fortress which they then prepared to erect in his kingdom, and of which Miranda d'Azevedo was appointed captain, with a garrison of an hundred soldiers. The materials were mostly timber, which the ruins of Geinal's intrenchment supplied them with. After Albuquerque's departure, the works had nearly fallen into the hands of an enemy named Melique Ladil, who called himself sultan of Pasay, and made several desultory attacks upon them; but he was at length totally routed, and the fortifications were completed without further molestation.

A fleet which sailed from the west of India a short time after that of Albuquerque, under the command of Jorge de Brito, stopt in the road of Acheen, in their way to the Molucca islands. There was at this time at Acheen a man of the name of Joano Borba, who spoke the language of the country, having formerly fled thither from Pasay, at the time Diogo Vaz was assassinated. Being afterwards intrusted with the command of a trading vessel from Goa, which foundered at sea, he again escaped to this place, with nine men in a small boat, and was hospitably received by the king, when he learned that the ship had been destined to his port. Borba came off along with a messenger sent by the king to welcome the commander, and offer him refreshments for his fleet, and being a man of extraordinary loquacity, he gave a pompous description to Brito of a temple in the country in which was deposited a large quantity of gold: he mentioned likewise that the king was in possession of the artillery and merchandize of Gaspar d'Acosta's vessel, some time since wrecked there; and also of the goods saved from a brigantine driven on shore at Daya, in Pacheco's expedition; as well as of Joano de Lima's ship, which he had caused to be cut off. Brito being tempted by the golden prize, which he conceived already in his power, and inflamed by Borba's representation of the king's iniquities, sent a message in return, to demand the restitution of the artillery, ship, and goods, which had been unlawfully seized. The king replied, that if he wanted those articles to be refunded, he must make his demand to the sea which had swallowed them up. Brito and his captains now resolved to proceed to an attack upon

1511.

the place, and so secure did they make themselves of their prey, that they refused permission to a ship lately arrived, and which did not belong to their squadron, to join them or participate in the profits of their adventure. They prepared to land two hundred men in small boats; a larger, with a more considerable detachment and their artillery, being ordered to follow. About day break they had proceeded half way up the river, and came near to a little fort designed to defend the passage, where Brito thought it advisable to stop till the remainder of their force should join them; but being importuned by his people, he left a party of fifty men to facilitate the landing, and advanced to make himself master of the fort, which was readily effected. Here he again resolved to make his stand, but by the imprudence of his ensign, who had drawn some of the party into a skirmish with the Acheneſe, he was forced to quit that post in order to save his colors which were in danger. At this juncture the king appeared at the head of eight hundred or a thousand men, and six elephants. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the Portuguese received considerably injury. Brito sent orders for the party he had left to come up, and endeavored to retreat to the fort, but he found himself so situated, that it could not be executed without much loss, and presently after he received a wound from an arrow through the cheeks. No assistance arriving, it was proposed that they should retire in the best manner they could to their boats; but that Brito would not consent to, preferring death to flight. Immediately upon this a lance pierced his thighs, and he fell to the ground. The Portuguese, rendered desperate, renewed the combat with redoubled vigor, all crowding to the spot where their commander lay, but their exertions availed them nothing against such unequal force, and they only rushed on to sacrifice. Almost every man was killed, and among these were near fifty persons of family, who had embarked as volunteers. Those who escaped belonged chiefly to the corps de reserve, who did not, or could not, come up in time to succour their unfortunate companions. Upon this merited defeat, the squadron immediately weighed anchor, and after falling in with two vessels bound on the discovery of the *ilhas d'Ouro*, arrived at Paſay, where they found Albuquerque employed in the construction

struction of his fortress, and went with him to make an attack on Bintang.

At the time that Malacca fell into the hands of the Portuguese, *Acheen* and *Daya* were provinces subject to *Pedeer*, and governed by two slaves belonging to the sultan of that place, to each of whom he had given a niece in marriage. It must be understood that slaves are in that country on a different footing from those in most other parts of the world, and usually treated as children of the family. It frequently happened also that men of good birth, finding it necessary to obtain the protection of some person in power, became voluntary slaves for this purpose. The nobles, being proud of the service of such dependants, encouraged the practice by treating them with a degree of respect, and in many instances they made them their heirs.* A slave of this description who held the government of *Acheen*, had two sons, the elder of whom was named *Raja Abraham*, and the younger *Raja Lella*, and were brought up in the house of their master. The father being old was recalled from his post, but on account of his faithful services, the sultan gave the succession to his eldest son, who appears to have been a youth of an ambitious and very sanguinary temper. A jealousy had taken place between him and the chief of *Daya*, whilst they were together at *Pedeer*, and as soon as he came into power he resolved to seek revenge, and with that view entered in a hostile manner the district of his rival. When the sultan interposed, it not only added fuel to his resentment, but inspired him with hatred towards his master, and he shewed his disrespect by refusing to deliver up, on the requisition of the sultan, certain Portuguese prisoners taken from a vessel lost at *Poolo Gomez*, and which he afterwards complied with at the intercession of the *Shabandar* of *Pasay*. This conduct manifesting an intention of entirely throwing off his allegiance, his father endeavored to recall him to a sense of his duty, by representing the obligations in which the family were

* The same custom prevails at *Acheen* to this day. These slaves, who are often Moors from the West of India, trade for their masters, and have a certain proportion of the profits, residing in a separate quarter of the city.

indebted to the sultan, and the relationship which so nearly connected them. But so far was this admonition from producing any good effect, that he took offence at his father's presumption, and ordered him to be confined in a cage, where he died. Irritated by these acts, the sultan resolved to proceed to extremities against him; but by means of the plunder of some Portuguese vessels, as before related, and the recent defeat
 1521. of Brito's party, he became so strong in artillery and ammunition, and so much elated with success, that he set his master at defiance, and prepared to defend himself. His force proved superior to that of Pederr, and in the end he obliged the sultan to fly for refuge and assistance to the European fortress at Pafay, accompanied by his nephew the chief of Daya, who was also forced from his possessions.

1522. Abraham had for some time infested the Portuguese by sending out parties against them, both by sea and land; but these being always baffled in their attempts with much loss, he began to conceive a violent antipathy against that nation, which he ever after indulged to excess. He got possession of the city of Pederr by bribing the principal officers; a mode of warfare that he often found successful, and seldom neglected to attempt. These he made to write a letter to their master couched in artful terms, in which they besought him to come to their assistance with a body of Portuguese, as the only chance of repelling the enemy by whom they pretended to be invested. The sultan shewed this letter to André Henriquez, then governor of the fort, who thinking it a good opportunity to chastise the Acheneze, sent by sea a detachment of eighty Europeans and two hundred Malays, under the command of his brother Manuel, whilst the sultan marched over land with a thousand men, and fifteen elephants, to the relief of the place. They arrived at Pederr in the night, but being secretly informed that Abraham was master of the city, and that the demand for succour was a stratagem, they endeavored to make their retreat; which the land troops effected, but before the tide could enable the Portuguese to get their boats afloat, they were attacked by Abraham's people, who killed Manuel and thirty five of his men.

Henriquez

Henriquez perceiving his situation at Pasay was becoming critical, not only from the force of the enemy, but the sickly state of his garrison, and the want of provisions, which the country people now withheld from him, discontinuing the fairs that they were used to keep three times in the week, dispatched advices to the governor of India, demanding immediate succours, and also sent to request assistance of the king of Aru, who had always proved the stedfast friend of Malacca, and who, though not wealthy, because his country was not a place of trade, was yet one of the most powerful princes in those parts. The king expressed his joy in having an opportunity of serving his allies, and promised his utmost aid; not only from friendship to them, but indignation against Abraham, whom he regarded as a rebellious slave. A supply of stores at length arrived from India, under the charge of Lopo d'Azuedo, who had orders to relieve Henriquez in the command; but disputes having arisen between them, and chiefly on the subject of certain works which the shabandar of Pasay had been permitted to erect adjoining to the fortrefs, d'Azuedo, to avoid coming to an open rupture, departed for Malacca. Abraham having found means to corrupt the honesty of this shabandar, who had received his office from Alboquerque, gained intelligence through him of all that passed. This treason it is supposed he would not have yielded to, but for the desperate situation of affairs. The country of Pasay was now entirely in subjection to the Achenese, and nothing remained unconquered but the capital; whilst the garrison was distracted with internal divisions.

1523.

After the acquisition of Pedeer, Abraham thought it necessary to remain there some time, in order to confirm his authority, and sent his brother Raja Lella with a large army to reduce the territories of Pasay, which he effected in the course of three months, and with the more facility, because that all the principal nobility had fallen in the action with Geinal. He fixed his camp within half a league of the city, and gave notice to Abraham of the state in which matters were, who speedily joined him, being anxious to render himself master of the place, before the promised succours from the king of Aru could arrive. His first step was

was to issue a proclamation, giving notice to the people of the town, that whoever should submit to his authority within six days, should have their lives, families, and properties secured to them, but that all others must expect to feel the punishment due to their obstinacy. This had the effect he looked for, the greater part of the inhabitants coming over to his camp. He then commenced his military operations, and in the third attack got possession of the town of Pafay, after much slaughter; those who escaped his fury taking shelter in the neighbouring mountains and thick woods. He sent a message to the commander of the fortress, requiring him to abandon it, and to deliver into his hands the kings of Pedeer and Daya, to whom he had given protection. Henriquez returned a spirited answer to this summons, but being sickly at the time, at best of an unsteady disposition, and too much attached to his trading concerns, for a soldier, he resolved to relinquish the command to his relation Aires Coelho, and take passage for the West of India.

1523. He had not advanced farther on his voyage than the point of Pedeer, when he fell in with two Portuguese ships bound to the Moluccas, the captains of which he made acquainted with the situation of the garrison, and they immediately proceeded to its relief. Arriving in the night they heard great firing of cannon, and learned next morning that the Achenese had made a furious assault, in hopes of carrying the fortress, before the ships, which were descried at a distance, could throw succours into it. They had mastered some of the outworks, and the garrison represented that it was impossible for them to support such another shock, without aid from the vessels. The captains with as much force as could be spared, entered the fort, and a sally was shortly afterwards resolved on and executed, in which the besiegers sustained considerable damage. Every effort was likewise employed, to repair the breaches, and stop up the mines that had been made by the enemy in order to affect a passage into the place. Abraham now attempted to draw them into a snare by removing his camp to a distance, and making a show of abandoning his enterprize; but this stratagem proved ineffectual. Reflecting then with indignation, that his own force consisted of fifteen thousand men, whilst

whilst that of the Europeans did not exceed three hundred and fifty, many of whom were sick and wounded, and others worn out with the fatigue of continual duty, (intelligence whereof was conveyed to him) he resolved once more to return to the siege, and make a general assault upon all parts of the fortification at once. Two hours before day-break he caused the place to be surrounded with eight thousand men, who approached in perfect silence. The night time was preferred by these people for making their attacks, as being then most secure from the effect of fire arms, and they also generally chose a time of rain, when the powder would not burn. As soon as they found themselves perceived, they set up a hideous shout, and fixing their scaling ladders, made of bamboo and wonderfully light, to the number of six hundred, they attempted to force their way through the embrasures for the guns; but after a strenuous contest they were at length repulsed. Seven elephants were driven with violence against the paling of one of the bastions, which gave way before them like a hedge, and overset all the men who were on it. Javelins and pikes these enormous beasts made no account of, but upon setting fire to powder under their trunks, they drew back with precipitation, in spite of all the efforts of their drivers; overthrew their own people; and flying to the distance of several miles, could not again be brought into the lines. The Achenese upon receiving this check thought to take revenge, by setting fire to some vessels that were in the dock yard; but this proved an unfortunate measure to them, for by the light which it occasioned, the garrison were enabled to point their guns, and did abundant execution.

Henriquez, after beating sometime against a contrary wind, put back to Pafay, and coming on shore the day after this conflict, resumed his command. A council was soon after held, to determine what measures were fittest to be pursued in the present situation of affairs, and taking into their consideration that no further assistance could be expected from the west of India in less than six months; that the garrison was sickly, and provisions short, it was resolved, by a majority of votes, to abandon the place, and measures were taken accordingly. In order to conceal

their intentions from the enemy, they ordered such of the artillery and stores as could be removed conveniently, to be packed up in the form of merchandize, and then shipped off. A party was left to set fire to the buildings, and trains of powder were so disposed as to lead to the larger cannon, which they over charged, that they might burst as soon as heated. But this was not effectually executed, and the pieces mostly fell into the hands of the Achenese, who upon the first alarm of the evacuation rushed in, extinguished the flames, and turned upon the Portuguese their own artillery, many of whom were killed in the water, as they hurried to get into their boats. They now lost as much credit by this ill conducted retreat, as they had acquired by their gallant defence, and were insulted by the reproachful shouts of the enemy; whose power was greatly increased by this acquisition of military stores, and of which they often severely experienced the effects. To render their disgrace more striking, it happened that as they sailed out of the harbour, they met thirty boats laden with provisions for their use from the king of Aru, who was himself on his march over-land with four thousand men: and when they arrived at Malacca they found troops and stores embarked there for their relief. The unfortunate princes who had sought an asylum with them, now joined in their flight; the sultan of Pasay proceeded to Malacca, and the sultan of Pedeer, and chief of Daya took refuge with the king of Aru.

1525.

Raja Narra king of Indergerree, in conjunction with a force from Bintang, attacked the king of a neighbouring island called Lingen, who was in friendship with the Portuguese. A message which passed on this occasion gives a just idea of the style and manners of this people. Upon their acquainting the king of Lingen, in their summons of surrender, that they had lately overcome the fleet of Malacca, he replied that his intelligence informed him of the contrary; that he had just made a festival and killed fifty goats to celebrate one defeat which they had received, and hoped soon to kill an hundred, in order to celebrate a second. His expectations were fulfilled, or rather anticipated, for the Portuguese having a knowledge of the king of Indergerree's design, sent out

out a small fleet which routed the combined force, before that the king of Lingen was acquainted with their arrival; his capital being situated high up on the river. In the next year, at the conquest of Bintang, this king, unsolicited, sent assistance to his European allies.^a 1516.

However well founded the accounts may have been which the Portuguese have given us of the cruelties committed against their people by the king of Acheen, the barbarity does not appear to have been only on one side. Francisco de Mello being sent in an armed vessel with dispatches to Goa, met, near Acheen head, with a ship of that nation just arrived from Mecca, and supposed to be richly laden. As she had on board three hundred Achenese and forty Arabs, he dared not venture to board her, but battered her at a distance; when suddenly she filled and sunk, to the extreme disappointment of the Portuguese, who thereby lost their prize; but they wreaked their vengeance on the unfortunate crew, as they endeavored to save themselves by swimming, and boast that they did not suffer a man to escape. Opportunities of retaliation soon offered.^b 1527.

Simano de Sousa going with a reinforcement to the Moluccas from Cochin, was overtaken in the bay by a violent storm, which forced him to stow many of his guns in the hold; and having lost several of his men through fatigue, he made for the nearest port he could take shelter in, which proved to be Acheen. The king having the destruction of the Portuguese at heart, and resolving, if possible to seize their vessel, sent off a message to De Sousa recommending his standing in closer to the shore, where he would have more shelter from the gale which still continued, and lie more conveniently for getting off water and provisions; at the same time inviting him to land. This artifice not succeeding, he ordered out the next morning a thousand men in twenty boats, who at first pretended that they were come to assist in mooring the ship; but the captain, aware of their hostile design, fired amongst them; when a fierce engagement 1528.

^a De Barros. Castanheda.

^b Diego de Couto.

took place, in which the Achenese were repulsed with great slaughter, but not until they had destroyed forty of the Portuguese. The king enraged at this disappointment, ordered a second attack, threatening to have his admiral trampled to death by elephants if he failed of success. A boat was sent ahead of this fleet with a signal of peace, and assurances to De Sousa, that the king, as soon as he was made acquainted with the injury that had been committed, had caused the perpetrators of it to be punished, and now once more requested him to come on shore and trust to his honor. This proposal some of the crew were inclined that he should accept, but being animated by a speech that he made to them, it was resolved that they should die with arms in their hands, in preference to a disgraceful and hazardous submission. The combat was therefore renewed, with extreme fury on the one side, and uncommon efforts of courage on the other, and the assailants were a second time repulsed; but one of those who had boarded the vessel and afterwards made his escape, represented to the Achenese the reduced and helpless situation of their enemy, and fresh supplies coming off, they were encouraged to return to the attack. De Sousa and his people were at length almost all cut to pieces, and those who survived, being desperately wounded, were overpowered, and led prisoners to the king, who unexpectedly treated them with extraordinary kindness, in order to cover the designs he harboured, and pretended to lament the fate of their brave commander. He directed them to fix upon one of their companions, who should go in his name to the governor of Malacca, to desire he would immediately send to take possession of the ship, which he meant to restore, as well as to liberate them. He hoped by this artifice to draw more of the Portuguese into his power, and at the same time to effect a purpose of a political nature. A war had recently broke out between him and the king of Aru, the latter of whom had deputed ambassadors to Malacca, to solicit assistance, in return for his former services; and which was readily promised to him. It was highly the interest of Abraham to prevent this junction, and therefore, though determined to relax nothing from his plans of revenge, he hastened to dispatch Antonio Caldeira, one of the captives, with proposals of accommodation.

modation and alliance, offering to restore not only this vessel, but also the artillery which he had taken at Pafay. These terms appeared to the governor too advantageous to be rejected. Conceiving a favorable idea of the king's intentions, from the confidence which Caldeira, who was deceived by the humanity shewn to the wounded captives, appeared to place in his sincerity, he became deaf to the representations that were made to him by more experienced persons, of Abraham's insidious character. A message was sent back agreeing to accept his friendship on the proposed conditions, and engaging to withhold the promised succours from the king of Aru. Caldeira, in his way to Acheen, touched at an island where he was cut off, with those who accompanied him. The ambassadors from Aru being acquainted with this breach of faith, retired in great disgust, and the king incensed at the ingratitude shewn him, concluded a peace with Acheen; but not till after an engagement between their fleets had taken place, in which the victory remained undecided.

In order that he might learn the causes of the obscurity in which his negotiations with Malacca rested, Abraham dispatched a secret messenger to *Senaia Raja*, Bandara of that city, with whom he held a correspondence; desiring also to be informed of the strength of the garrison. Hearing in answer, that the governor newly arrived was inclined to think favorably of him, he immediately sent an ambassador to wait on him, with assurances of his pacific and friendly disposition; who returned in company with persons empowered, on the governor's part, to negotiate a treaty of commerce. These, upon their arrival at Acheen, were loaded with favors and costly presents; the news of which quickly flew to Malacca; and the business they came on being adjusted, they were suffered to depart; but they had not sailed far before they were overtaken by boats sent after them, and were stript, and murdered. The governor, who had heard of their setting out, concluded they were lost by accident. Intelligence of this mistaken opinion was transmitted to Abraham, who thereupon had the audacity to request that he might be honored with

*529.

the presence of some Portuguese of rank and consequence in his capital, to ratify in a becoming manner the articles that had been drawn up; as he ardently wished, to see that nation trafficking freely in his dominions. The deluded governor, in compliance with this request, adopted the resolution of sending thither a large ship, under the command of Manuel Pacheco, with a rich cargo, the property of himself and several merchants of Malacca, who themselves embarked, with the idea of making extraordinary profits. Senaia conveyed notice of this preparation to Acheen, informing the king at the same time, that if he could make himself master of this vessel, Malacca must fall an easy prey to him, as the place was weakened of half its force for the equipment. When Pacheco approached the harbour he was surrounded by a great number of boats, and some of the people began to suspect treachery, but so strongly did the spirit of delusion prevail in this business, that they could not persuade the captain to put himself on his guard. He soon had reason to repent his credulity. Perceiving an arrow pass close by him, he hastened to put on his coat of mail, when a second pierced his neck, and he soon expired. The vessel then became an easy prey, and the people being made prisoners, were shortly afterwards massacred by the king's order, along with the unfortunate remnant of De Sousa's crew, so long flattered with the hopes of release. By this capture Abraham was supposed to have remained in possession of more artillery than was left in Malacca, and he immediately fitted out a fleet to take advantage of its exposed state. The pride of success causing him to imagine it already in his power, he sent a taunting message to the governor, in which he thanked him for the late instances of his liberality, and let him know he should trouble him for the remainder of his naval force.

Senaia had promised to put the citadel into his hands, and this had certainly been executed but for an accident that discovered his treasonable designs. The crews of some vessels of Abraham's fleet, landed on a part of the coast not far from the city, where they were well entertained by the natives, and in the openness of conviviality, related the transactions which had lately passed at Acheen, the correspondence of Senaia, and

and the scheme that was laid for rising on the Portuguese when they should be at church, murdering them, and seizing the fortress. Intelligence of this was reported with speed to the governor, who had Senaia instantly apprehended and executed. This punishment served to intimidate those among the inhabitants who were engaged in the conspiracy, and disconcerted the plans of the king of Acheen.^c

These appear to be the last transactions of Abraham's reign, of which any mention is made by historians. The time of his death is not satisfactorily ascertained, but it is said that he was dispatched with poison given him by his wife, who was sister to the chief of Daya, in revenge for the injuries her brother had sustained at his hand.*

He was succeeded by one who styled himself *Siry Sultan Alradin*,† king of Acheen, Baroos, Pedeer, Pafay, Daya, and Batta, prince of the land of the two seas, and of the mines of Menangcabow. Nothing is recorded of his reign until the year 1537, in which he twice attacked 1537 Malacca. The first time he sent an army of three thousand men, who landed near the city by night, unperceived of the Portuguese, and having committed some ravages in the suburbs, were advancing to the bridge, when the governor, Estavano de Gama, sallied out with a party, and obliged them to retreat for shelter to the woods. Here they defended themselves during the next day, but on the following night they re-embarked, with the loss of five hundred men. A few months afterwards the king had the place invested with a larger force; but in the interval the works had been repaired and strengthened, and after three days ineffectual attempt the Achenese were again constrained to retire.‡

^c Castanheda. Diogo do Couto.

* De Barros places his death in 1528, but the accounts of the transactions of the following year contradict that date. Probably the event took place in 1529 or 1530.

† *Radin* is a name often found among the Malays, to which the Arabic particle is here prefixed.

‡ De Barros.

4639. In the 1539 we find Alradia engaged in a war with his neighbour, a king of *Batta*, named *Angee Siry Timor raja*. The cause of their quarrel was the latter's refusing to become a Mahometan at the requisition of the former. A battle was fought in which the Achenese monarch was worsted, and peace was concluded on the condition of his paying a certain sum of gold to the victor; but a supply of three hundred Arab troops, with a quantity of stores, arriving at this time, he did not hesitate to break the treaty; and falling upon some towns belonging to the *Batta* king, he put to death three of his sons and a number of his principal warriors. Irritated by this treachery, *Timor raja* made a vow not to taste fruit or salt, till he should have revenge. He raised an army of fifteen thousand men, seven thousand of which were auxiliaries from the countries of Menangcabow, Indergerree, Jambee, Lufon, and Borneo, and sent a request to the governor of Malacca for aid, who furnished him with arms and ammunition, as against a common enemy. With this force, and forty elephants, he marched towards Acheen, and not far from that place encountered his adversary, when a bloody engagement ensued, in the event of which Alradia was obliged to retire, after losing fifteen hundred of his men, among whom were said to be an hundred and sixty Turks, with two hundred Saracens, Malabars, and Abyssinians. The *Batta* king pursued him to the city, which he continued to besiege during three and twenty days; but losing many of his people, and hearing that a fleet was off the port, in which was an army of Acheen returning from an expedition against the king of Siam, he thought it prudent to make a hasty retreat to his own country, where he arrived on the fifth day.⁴

In the latter end of the same year a messenger arrived at Malacca from the king of Aru, to solicit succours against the king of Acheen, who was preparing a powerful force to invade his dominions, in order that by possessing this kingdom, which lay opposite to Malacca, he might the more conveniently prosecute his designs against that city, which was

ever his chief object. Owing to the divided state of the Portuguese government at that juncture, the messenger returned with an unsatisfactory answer, but a sense of their interest induced them afterwards to order a vessel laden with stores to proceed to the relief of Aru, where the Acheen fleet soon appeared, consisting of an hundred and sixty sail, of which fifteen were large vessels. In these were embarked seventeen thousand men, of whom twelve thousand were military, and among them four thousand foreigners. The whole was commanded by Heredin Mahomet, who had married the king's sister, and was his governor of Baroos. Whilst these entered the river Panetican, the king of Aru was employed in fortifying himself on shore, with six thousand of his subjects. For six days the enemy battered the town from their vessels, and then landed with twelve large pieces of artillery. Having demolished the outer forts, they gave a general assault; but the besieged sustained it with so much resolution, and exerted themselves so effectually, that they repulsed the assailants, and killed the leader, an Abyssinian, who had arrived from Judda but a month before, to confirm a league made by the Bassa of Cairo, on behalf of the Grand Signior, with the king of Acheen. But in the end the place was taken, and the brave king of Aru killed, owing to the treachery of one of his own captains, whom the Achenese had corrupted. The commander, from being governor, was made sultan of Baroos for this eminent service.

Inche Seenee; the queen of the deceased monarch, having retired to the woods before the siege, now infested the Achenese garrison with many irregular attacks, but at length, upon the setting in of the rains, she was necessitated to quit the country, and embarking her people in such boats as she could procure, passed over to Malacca, in order to sue for aid to recover her husband's kingdom. Here she attended in vain for five months, and then departed, to implore of the king of *Ojong-tana* (formerly of Bintang) that assistance which the Portuguese denied her. This prince had compassion for her situation, and in order to furnish a pretext for demanding the restitution of Aru, he took her to wife. After a letter had passed between him and the king of Acheen,

in which the latter told him he could perceive he had written from the table of his nuptials, amidst drunken counsellors, he fitted out a fleet under the command of the great Lacsemanna,* which retook Aru, and put the garrison, which consisted of fourteen hundred men, to the sword. This was no sooner effected than a powerful fleet arrived from Acheen to succour the town, commanded by Heredin Mahomet, whom his master thought invincible. A desperate engagement took place in the river. The advantage was a long time doubtful, until Heredin fell by a cannon shot. His captains, disconcerted by this accident, endeavored to shelter the ships, by getting round a neighbouring point of land, but the violence of the current forced them out to sea, and entirely dispersed them, by which means all but a few fell into the hands of Lacsemanna.

^{1541.} Fourteen vessels that escaped carried the news of this defeat to the king of Acheen, who ordered that the heads of the captains should be struck off, and that the soldiers should ever afterwards be dressed in women's

^{1547.} apparel.* In the year 1547 he fitted out a fleet against Malacca, where a descent was made; but contented with some trifling plunder, the army re-embarked, and the vessels proceeded to the river of Parles on the Malayan coast. Hither they were followed by a Portuguese squadron, which attacked and defeated a division of the fleet, at the mouth of the river. This victory was rendered famous, not so much by the valor of the combatants, as by a revelation which was opportunely made from heaven to the missionary Francisco Xavier, of the time and circumstances of it, and which he announced to the garrison, at a moment when the approach of a powerful invader from another quarter, had caused much alarm and apprehension among them,^f

^{1564.} Aru continued in the possession of the king of Oojong-tana until the year 1564, when it was re-taken by the Acheneſe, who fell upon it by

* This famous warrior, whose renown still lives in tradition amongst the Malays, fought the Portuguese during a period of forty years, and though often defeated still shewed himself superior to his fortune. He died in battle in the year 1550.

• Mendez Pinto.

f Diogo de Couto.

surprize, and committed great slaughter, putting the king and all his family to death. The eldest son of the king of Acheen was placed in the government, who fell, as we shall presently see, at the siege of Malacca.^s

The western powers of India having formed a league for the purpose of extirpating the Portuguese, the king of Acheen was invited to accede to it, and in conformity with the engagements by which the respective parties were bound, he prepared to attack them in Malacca, and carried thither a numerous fleet, in which were fifteen thousand people of his own subjects, and four hundred Turks, with two hundred pieces of artillery of different sizes. In order to amuse the enemy, he gave out that his force was destined against Java, and sent a letter, accompanied with a present of a creese, to the governor, professing strong sentiments of friendship. A person whom he turned on shore with marks of ignominy, being suspected for a spy, was taken up, and being put to the torture, confessed that he was employed by the Grand Signior and king of Acheen, to poison the principal officers of the place, and to set fire to their magazine. He was put to death, and his mutilated carcase was sent off to the king. This was the signal for hostilities. He immediately landed with all his men, and commenced a regular siege. Sallies were made with various success, and very unequal numbers. In one of these, the chief of Aru, the king's eldest son, was killed. In another the Portuguese were defeated and lost many officers. A variety of stratagems were employed to work upon the fears, and shake the fidelity of the inhabitants of the town. A general assault was given, in which, after prodigious efforts of courage, and imminent risk of destruction, the besieged remained victorious. The king seeing all his attempts fruitless, at length departed, having lost three thousand men before the walls, beside about five hundred who were said to have died of their wounds on the passage. The king of Ojong-tana, who arrived with a fleet to the assistance of the place, found the sea for a long distance covered

1567.

with dead bodies. This was esteemed one of the most desperate and honorable sieges the Portuguese experienced in India, their whole force consisting of but fifteen hundred men, of whom no more than two hundred were Europeans.^a

1568. In the following year a vessel from Acheen bound to Java, with ambassadors on board to the queen of Japara, in whom the king wished to raise up a new enemy against the Portuguese, was met in the straits by a vessel from Malacca, who took her and put all the people to the sword. It appears to have been a maxim in these wars, never to give quarter to an enemy, whether resisting or submitting. In 1569 a single ship, commanded by Lopez Carrasco, passing near Acheen, fell in with a fleet coming out of that port, consisting of twenty large galleys, and an hundred and eighty other vessels, commanded by the king in person, and supposed to be designed against Malacca. The situation of the Portuguese was desperate. They could not expect to escape, and therefore resolved to die like men. During three days they sustained a continual attack, when, after having by incredible exertions destroyed forty of the enemy's vessels, and being themselves reduced to the state of a wreck, a second ship appeared in sight. The king perceiving this, retired into the harbour with his shattered forces.

1573. It is difficult to determine which of the two is the more astonishing: the vigorous stand made by such an handful of men as the whole strength of Malacca consisted of; or the prodigious resources and perseverance of the Achenese Monarch. In 1573, after forming an alliance with the queen of Japara, the object of which was the destruction of the European power, he appeared again before Malacca with ninety vessels, twenty five of them large galleys, with seven thousand men, and great store of artillery. He began his operations by sending a party to set fire to the suburbs of the town, but a timely shower of rain prevented its taking effect. He then resolved on a different mode of warfare, and

^a Diogo do Couto. Faria y Sousa.

tried to starve the place to a surrender, by blocking up the harbour, and cutting off all supplies of provisions. The Portuguese to prevent the fatal consequences of this measure, collected those few vessels which they were masters of, and a merchant ship of some force arriving opportunely, they put to sea, attacked the enemies fleet, killed the principal captain, and obtained a complete victory. In the year following, Malacca was ^{1574.} invested by an armada from the queen of Japara, of three hundred sail, eighty of which were junks of four hundred tons burthen. After besieging the place for three months, till the very air became corrupted by their stay, the fleet retired with scarcely more than five thousand men, of fifteen that embarked on the expedition.

Scarcely was the Javanese force departed, when the king of Acheen once ^{1575.} more appeared with a fleet that is described as covering the straits. He ordered an attack upon three Portuguese frigates that were in the road protecting some provision vessels; which was executed with such a furious discharge of artillery, that they were presently destroyed with all their crews. This was a dreadful blow to Malacca, and lamented, as the historian relates, with tears of blood by the little garrison, who were not now above an hundred and fifty men, and of those a great part non-effective. The king, elated with his success, landed his troops, and laid siege to the fort, which he battered at intervals during seventeen days. The fire of the Portuguese became very slack, and after some time totally ceased, as the governor judged it prudent to reserve his small stock of ammunition, for an effort at the last extremity. The king, alarmed at this silence, which he construed into a preparation for some dangerous stratagem, was seized with a panick, and suddenly raising the siege, embarked with the utmost precipitation; unexpectedly relieving the garrison from the ruin that hung over them, and which seemed inevitable in the ordinary course of events.^a

In 1582 we find the king appearing again before Malacca with an ^{1582.} hundred and fifty sail of vessels. After some skirmishes with the Portu-

^a Diogo do Couto. Faria y Sousa.

guese ships, in which the success was nearly equal on both sides, the Achenese proceeded to attack Johor, the king of which was then in alliance with Malacca. Twelve ships followed them thither, and having burned some of their galleys, defeated the rest, and obliged them to fly to Acheen.ⁱ

1586. About four years after this misfortune, the king prepared a fleet of no less than three hundred sail, and was ready to set out once more upon his favorite enterprize, when his general, named Moratiza, who had long since designed to usurp the crown, murdered him, his queen, and the principal nobility.^k

About this time the consequence of the kingdom of Acheen had arrived at a great height. Its friendship was courted by the most considerable eastern potentates; no city in India possessed a more flourishing trade; the customs of the port being moderate, it was crowded with merchants from all parts, and [though the Portuguese and their ships were continually plundered, yet those belonging to every native power from Mecca in the west, to Japan in the east, appear to have enjoyed perfect security in the business of their commerce. With respect to the government, the nobles, or *orang kayas* as they are called, formed a powerful counterpoise to the authority of the king. They were rich; had numerous followers, and cannon planted at the gates of their houses; and thus feeling themselves independent, often gave a licentious range to their proud and impatient tempers. Although the generality of Portuguese historians have indirectly attributed the transactions of the last fifty or sixty years to a single reign, yet we have some authority, beside the evident probability of the matter, for saying that during that space of time there were many revolutions in the court, brought about by the intrigues of the nobles, until at length the antient royal line became extinct.^l

ⁱ Faria y Sousa

^k Faria y Sousa.

^l Beaulieu.

The usurper mounted the throne, by the title of sultan *Aladin*,* at an advanced period of life. He was originally a fisherman, and afterwards served in the wars against Malacca, where he shewed so much courage, prudence, and skill in maritime affairs, that the late king made him at length the chief commander of his forces, and gave him one of his nearest kinswomen to wife. The monarch's only child, a daughter, was married to the king of Johor,† by whom she had a son. The infant was sent to Acheen to be educated under his grandfather, whose heir he was designed to be. Upon the death of the king, Aladin at first assumed the protection of the child, but soon after dispatched him also, and then declared himself sovereign in the right of his wife.‡ Having the royal force in his hands, he curbed the power of the rest of the nobles, who attempted to make resistance against this step, and put numbers of them

* This name, which the hero of the *Crusades* rendered famous in the east, is common among the Malays, who pronounce it, *Ladeen*.

† The king of Acheen sent on this occasion, to Johor, a piece of ordnance, such as for greatness, length, and workmanship could hardly be matched in all Christendom. It was afterwards taken by the Portuguese, who shipped it for Europe, but the vessel was lost in her passage. *Linschoten*.

‡ Commodore Beaulieu relates the circumstances of this revolution in a very different manner. The nobles, he says, upon the extinction of the royal line, setting up each their respective pretensions to the crown, were proceeding to decide the matter by force, when they were prevailed on by the chief priest to prevent bloodshed, and at the same time preserve their claims, by raising to the throne an old nobleman of much wisdom and experience, and who was descended from one of the first families of the kingdom, but had not affected any pretensions to the dignity. That after many refusals to quit his retired life, he was at length forced to acquiescence, on the condition of their regarding him as a father. But no sooner was he in possession of the sovereign power, than he shewed a different face, and the first step after his accession, was to invite all the nobles of the realm to an entertainment, where, as they were introduced one by one to an inner court of the palace, he had them murdered. This story, allowing for the difference of situation and manners, bears a strong resemblance to the election of Sixtus the fifth to the Papacy. The Commodore had great opportunity of information, and was a sensible man, but he appears in this case to have been amused with a plausible tale by the grandson of this monarch, whom probably he had it from. John Davis, an intelligent English navigator, whose account I follow, was more likely to bear the truth; and he was at Acheen during Aladin's reign, whereas the Commodore did not arrive till twenty years after. Besides, a Dutch Admiral, who was at Acheen about three years after Davis, confirms the report of Aladin's having been originally a fisherman. But both the Commodore and Davis place the event of his accession about five years earlier than the Spanish historian.

to death, raising his own adherents, from the lower class of people, to the first dignities of the state.^m To ensure the future submission of the nobility, he seized their cannon and arms, demolished their fortified houses, and prohibited their rebuilding with any substantial materials. Of those among the people who presumed to express any disapprobation of his conduct, he made great slaughter, and was supposed to have caused not less than twenty thousand persons to be executed in the first year of his reign.

As the Portuguese writers make scarcely any mention of this king's actions, we have reason to conclude that he did not prove so formidable an enemy to Malacca as his predecessor had been; and it appears that ambassadors from that city resided, at different periods, in his court. Some expeditions, however, he fitted out against it, in which a general of his, named *Raja Macoota*, had opportunities of signalizing his valor.ⁿ He had long and frequent wars with the king of Johor.

1600. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, the Hollanders began to navigate the Indian seas, and in the year 1600 some of their ships arrived at Acheen, where they had no cause to boast of the hospitality of their treatment. An attempt was made, and probably not without the orders, or connivance of the king, to cut off two of their vessels, and several of the crews were murdered; but after a desperate conflict, the assassins were overcome and driven into the water; "and it was some pleasure (says John Davis, who was the principal pilot of the ships) to see how the base Indians did fly, how they were killed, and how well they were drowned." This treacherous action was attributed to the instigation of the Portuguese. A second party of that nation, who endeavored to trade there a short time afterwards, met with a little better usage, and were obliged to hasten out of the road, leaving a part of their merchandize on shore.*
- 1601.

^m John Davis.

ⁿ Queen Elizabeth's letter to the king of Acheen.

* It is somewhat remarkable that the Hollanders, not only at Acheen but at Bantam, were about this time always called English by the natives, notwithstanding they endeavored, or so pretended, to establish a just idea of the distinction between the two nations. See Collection of voyages which contributed to the establishment of the Netherlands East India Company.

The first English fleet that made its appearance in this part of the world, and laid the foundation of a commerce which was in time to eclipse that of every other European state, visited Acheen in the year 1602. Lancaster, who commanded it, was received by the king with abundant ceremony and respect, which seem with these monarchs to have been usually proportioned to the number of vessels and apparent strength of their foreign guests. The queen of England's letter was conveyed to court with great pomp, and the general, after delivering a rich present, the most admired article of which was a fan of feathers, declared the purpose of his coming was to establish peace and amity between his royal mistress, and her loving brother, the great and mighty king of Acheen. He was invited to a banquet prepared for his entertainment, in which the service was of gold, and the king's damsels, who were richly attired and adorned with bracelets and jewels, were ordered to divert him with dancing and music. Before he retired he was arrayed by the king in a magnificent habit of the country, and armed with two creeses. In the present sent as a return for the queen's, there was, among other matters, a valuable ruby set in a ring. Two of the nobles, one of whom was the chief priest, were appointed to settle with Lancaster the terms of a commercial treaty, which was accordingly drawn up and executed in an explicit and regular manner. The Portuguese ambassador, or more properly the Spanish, as those kingdoms were now united, kept a watchful and jealous eye upon his proceedings; but by bribing the spies who surrounded him, he foiled them at their own arts, and acquired intelligence that enabled him to take a rich prize in the straits of Malacca, with which he returned to Acheen; and having loaded what pepper he could procure there, took his departure. On this occasion it was requested by Aladin, that he and his officers would favor him by singing one of the psalms of David, which was performed with great solemnity.*

Aladin had two sons, the younger of whom he made king of Pedeer, and the elder he kept at Acheen in order to succeed him in the throne.

* Lancaster's Voyage.

In the year 1603, he resolved to divide the charge of government with his intended heir, as he found his extraordinary age began to render him unequal to the task, and accordingly invested him with royal dignity; but the effect which might have been foreseen quickly followed this measure.^p The son, who was already advanced in years, became impatient to enjoy more complete power, and thinking his father had possessed the crown sufficiently long, he confined him in a prison, where his days
 1604. were soon ended.^q He was then ninety-five years of age,* and described to be a hale man, but extremely gross and fat. His constitution must have been uncommonly vigorous, and his muscular strength is indicated by this ludicrous circumstance, that when he once condescended to embrace a Dutch admiral, contrary to the usual manners of his country, the pressure of his arms was so violent as to cause excessive pain to the person so honored. He was passionately addicted to women, gaming, and to drink, his favorite beverage being arrack. By the severity of his punishments he kept his subjects in extreme awe of him; and the merchants who traded to his ports were obliged to submit to more exactions and oppressions than were felt under the government of his predecessors,

The new king proved himself, from indolence or want of capacity, unfit to reign. He was always surrounded by his women, who were not only his attendants but his guards, and carried arms for that purpose. His occupations were the bath and the chase, and the affairs of state were neglected; insomuch that murders, robberies, oppression, and an infinity of disorders took place in the kingdom, for want of a regular and strict administration of justice.^r A son of the daughter of Aladin had been a great favorite of his grandfather, at the time of whose death

^p Collection of Dutch voyages.

^q John Davis.

* According to Beaulieu. Davis says he was about an hundred; and the Dutch voyages mention that his great age prevented his ever appearing out of his palace.

^r Dutch voyages. Beaulieu.

he was twenty-three years of age, and continued, with his mother, to reside at the court after that event. His uncle, the king of Acheen, having given him a rebuke on some occasion, he left his palace abruptly, and fled to the king of Pedeer, who received him with affection, and refused to send him back at the desire of the elder brother, or to offer any violence to a young prince whom their father loved. This was the occasion of an inveterate war, which cost the lives of many thousand people. The nephew commanded the forces of Pedeer, and for some time maintained the advantage, but these at length, seeing themselves much inferior in numbers to those of Acheen, refused to march, and the king was obliged to give him up, when he was conveyed to Acheen, and put in close confinement.*

Not long afterwards a Portuguese squadron, under Martin Alfonso, 1666. going to the relief of Malacca, then besieged by the Dutch, anchored in Acheen road, with the resolution of taking revenge on the king, for receiving these their rivals into his ports, contrary to the stipulations of a treaty that had been entered into between them.† The viceroy landed his men, who were opposed by a strong force on the part of the Achenese: but after a stout resistance they gained the first turf fort with two pieces of cannon, and commenced an attack upon the second, of masonry. In this critical juncture, the young prince sent a message to his uncle, requesting he might be permitted to join the army and expose himself in the ranks; declaring himself more willing to die in battle against the Caffres (so they always affected to call the Portuguese*) than to languish like a slave in chains. The fears which operated upon the king's mind, induced him to consent to his release. The prince shewed so much bravery on this occasion, and conducted two or three attacks with such success, that Alfonso was obliged to order a retreat, after wasting two days, and losing three hundred men in this.

* Beaulieu.

† Faria y Sousa.

* The Achenese warriors were said to assume as a favorite title, that of "Drinkers of the blood of miserable Caffres"—calling them accursed dogs who were come from the end of the world to usurp the property of others. Mendez Pinto.

fruitless attempt. The reputation of the prince was raised by this affair to a high pitch amongst the people of Acheen. His mother, who was an active, ambitious woman, formed the design of placing him on the throne, and furnished him with large sums of money to be distributed in gratuities amongst the principal orang cayos. At the same time he endeavored to ingratiate himself by his manners, with all classes of people. To the rich he was courteous; to the poor he was affable; and he was the constant companion of those who were in the profession of arms. The king died suddenly, and at the hour of his death the prince got access to the castle. He bribed the guards; made liberal promises to the officers; advanced a large sum of money to the governor; and sending for the chief priest, obliged him by threats to crown him. In fine, he managed the revolution so happily, that he was proclaimed king before night, to the great joy of the people, who conceived vast hopes from his liberality, courtesy, and valor. The king of Pedeer was speedily acquainted with the news of his brother's death, but not of the subsequent transactions, and came the next day to take possession of his inheritance. As he approached the castle with a small retinue, he was seized by orders from the reigning prince, who, forgetting the favors he had received, kept him prisoner for a month, and then sending him into the country, under the pretence of a commodious retreat, had him murdered on the way. Those who put the crown on his head were not better requited; particularly the Maharaja, or governor of the castle. In a short time his disappointed subjects found, that instead of being humane, he was cruel; instead of being liberal, he displayed extreme avarice; and instead of being affable, he manifested a temper austere and inexorable.^a

^{1607.} This king assumed the title of Sultan *Peducka Siri*, sovereign of Acheen, and of the countries of Aru, Delhy, Johor, Paham, Queda, and Pera, on the one side, and Baroos, Passamman, Ticoo, Sileda, and Priaman, upon the other. Some of these places were conquered by

^a Beaulieu.

him, and others he inherited. He shewed much friendship to the Hollanders in the early part of his reign; and in the year 1613 gave permission to the English to settle a factory, granting them many indulgences, in consequence of a letter and present from king James the first. He bestowed on Captain Best, who was the bearer of them, the title of *Orang cayo pootee*, and entertained him with the fighting of elephants, buffalos, rams, and tigers. In his answer to king James, which is couched in the most friendly terms, he styles himself king of all Sumatra, a name and idea, which, if they exist in the original,* he must have learned from his European connexions. He expressed a strong desire that the king of England should send him one of his countrywomen to wife, and promised to make her eldest son king of all the pepper countries, that so the English might be supplied with that commodity by a monarch of their own. But notwithstanding his strong professions of attachment to us, and his natural connexion with the Hollanders, arising from their joint enmity to the Portuguese, it was not many years before he began to oppress both nations, and use his endeavors to ruin their trade. He became jealous of their growing power, and particularly by reason of the intelligence which reached him, concerning the encroachments made by the latter in the island of Java.

The conquest of Aru seems never to have been thoroughly effected by the kings of Acheen. Peducka carried his arms thither, and boasted of having obtained some victories. In 1613 he subdued Siak, in its neighbourhood, and in the same year ravaged the kingdom of Johor, and had the kings of these two places, who were brothers, brought captives to Acheen; but released them upon their consenting to become his tributaries. The old king of Johor, who had so often engaged the Portuguese, left several sons, the eldest of whom succeeded him by the title of *Eeang de Patooan*, the second was made king of Siak, and the third, *Raja Bonsoo* by name, reigned jointly with the first. He it was who assisted the Hollanders in the first siege of Malacca, and corresponded with prince Maurice. The king of Acheen was married to their sister, but this did

* Translations of this letter and of that written to Queen Elizabeth are to be found in Purchas.

not prevent a long and cruel war between them.^{u*} A Dutch factory at Johor was involved in the consequences of this war, and several of that nation were amongst the prisoners.^v

1615. In 1615 the king of Acheen sailed to the attack of Malacca in a fleet which he had been four years employed in preparing.^w It consisted of above five hundred sail, of which an hundred were large gallies, greater than any at that time built in Europe, carrying each from six to eight hundred men, with three large cannon and several smaller pieces.^x These gallies the orang cayos were obliged to furnish, repair, and man, at the peril of their lives. The soldiers served without pay, and carried three months provision at their own charge.^y In this great fleet there were computed to be sixty thousand men, whom the king commanded in person. His wives and household were taken to sea with him. Coming in sight of the Portuguese ships in the afternoon, they received many shot from them, but avoided returning any, as if from contempt. The next day they got ready for battle, and drew up in form of an half moon. A desperate engagement took place, and lasted without intermission till midnight, during which the Portuguese admiral was three times boarded, and repeatedly on fire. Many vessels on both sides were also in flames, and afforded light to continue the combat. At length the Achenese gave way, after losing fifty sail of different sizes, and twenty thousand men. They retired to Bencalis, on the eastern coast of Sumatra, and shortly afterwards sailed for Acheen, the Portuguese not daring to pursue their victory, both on account of the damage they had sustained, and their apprehension of the Hollanders, who were expected at Malacca. The king proposed that the prisoners taken should be mutually given up, which was agreed to, and was the first instance of that act of humanity and civilization between the two powers.^z

* Collection of Dutch voyages.

* The title of *Eang de Patooan* is common amongst the Malays, and is the same with that which in a former note, p. 274, is corruptly spelt *Jenderpatooan*. The chief of Borneo-proper is always so styled.

v C. Best. w Faria y Sousa. x Beaulieu. Faria y Sousa. y Beaulieu. z Faria y Sousa.

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Three years afterwards the king made a conquest of the city of Queda, ^{1618.} on the Malayan coast, and also of a place called Delhy on Sumatra. This last had been strongly fortified by the assistance of the Portuguese, and gave an opportunity of displaying much skill in the attack. Trenches were regularly opened before it, and a siege carried on for six weeks, ere it fell.^a In the same year the king of Jorcan^{*} fled for refuge to Malacca, with eighty sail of boats, having been expelled his dominions, by the king of Acheen. The Portuguese were not in a condition to afford him relief, being themselves surrounded with enemies, and fearful of an attack from the Achenese more especially; but the king was then making preparations against an invasion he heard was meditated by the viceroy of Goa. Reciprocal apprehensions kept each party on the defensive.^b

The French being desirous of participating in the commerce of Acheen, which all the European nations had formed great ideas of, and all found themselves disappointed in, sent out a fleet commanded by Beaulieu, which arrived in 1621. He brought magnificent presents to ^{1621.} the king, but which did not content his insatiable avarice, and he employed a variety of mean arts to draw from him further gifts. Beaulieu met also with many difficulties, and was forced to submit to much extortion, in his endeavors to procure a loading of pepper, of which Acheen itself, as has been observed, produced but little. The king informed him that he had some time since ordered all the plants to be destroyed, not only because the cultivation of them proved an injury to more useful agriculture, but also lest their produce might tempt the Europeans to serve him, as they had served the kings of Jacatra and Bantam. From this apprehension, he had lately been induced to expel

^a Beaulieu.

^{*} I am uncertain what place is designed by this name: perhaps a country on the banks of the river Racan or Ircan. The time of the event would lead us to conclude that the king of Jorcan was the same who defended Delhy.

^b Faria y Sousa.

the English and Dutch from their settlements at Priaman and Ticoo, where the principal quantity of pepper was procured, and of which places he changed the governor every third year, to prevent any connexions dangerous to his authority, from being formed. He had likewise driven the Dutch from a factory they were attempting to settle at Padang; which place appears to be the most remote that ever the Achenese attempted to exercise dominion over, on the western coast of the island.^c

1628. Still retaining a strong desire to possess himself of Malacca, so many years the grand object of Achenese ambition, he imprisoned the ambassador then at his court, and made extraordinary preparations for the siege, which he designed to undertake in person.* Lacsemanna his general (the second great man of that name or title, and who had effected all the king's late conquests) attempted to oppose this resolution; but the Maharaja, willing to flatter his master's propensity, undertook to put him in possession of the city, and had the command of the fleet given to him, as the other had of the land forces. The king set out on the expedition with a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, (forty seven of them not less than an hundred feet in the keel) in which were twenty thousand men well appointed, and a great train of artillery. After being some time on board, with his family and retinue as usual, he determined, on account of an ill omen that was observed, to return to the shore. The generals, proceeding without him, soon arrived before Malacca. Having landed their men, they made a judicious disposition, and began the attack with much courage, and military skill. The Portuguese were obliged to abandon several of their posts, one of which, after a defence of fifty days, was levelled with the ground, and from its ruins strong works were raised by Lacsemanna. Maharaja had seized another post advantageously situated. From their several camps they had lines

^c Beaulieu.

* Faria y Sousa mentions an engagement in 1626, in which the king lost thirty four gallies, three thousand men, and eight hundred pieces of cannon.

of communication, and the boats on the river were stationed in such a manner, that the place was compleatly invested. Matters were in this posture, when a force of two thousand men came to the assistance of the besieged, from the king of Paham, and likewise five sail of Portuguese vessels from the coast of Coromandel ; but all was insufficient to remove so powerful an enemy, although by that time they had lost four thousand of their troops in the different attacks and skirmishes. In the latter end of the year a fleet of thirty sail of ships, large and small, under the command of Nunno Alvarez Botello, having on board nine hundred European soldiers, appeared off Malacca, and blocked up the fleet of Acheen in a river about three miles from the town. This intirely altered the complexion of affairs. The besiegers retired from their advanced works, and hastened to the defence of their gallies ; erecting batteries by the side of the river. Maharaja being summoned to surrender, returned a civil, but resolute answer. In the night, endeavoring to make his escape with the smaller vessels, through the midst of the Portuguese, he was repulsed and wounded. Next day the whole force of the Achenese dropped down the stream, with a design to fight their way, but after an engagement of two hours, their principal galley, named the " Terror of the world " was boarded and taken, after losing five hundred men of seven which she carried. Many other vessels were afterwards captured or sunk. Lacsemanna hung out a white flag, and sent to treat with Nunno, but some difficulty arising about the terms, the engagement was renewed with great warmth. News was brought to the Portuguese that Maharaja was killed, and that the king of Paham was approaching with an hundred sail of vessels to reinforce them. Still the Achenese kept up a dreadful fire, which seemed to render the final success doubtful ; but at length they sent proposals, desiring only to be allowed three gallies of all their fleet to carry away four thousand men who remained of twenty that came before the town. It was answered, that they must surrender at discretion ; which Lacsemanna hesitating to do, a furious assault took place both by water and land upon the gallies and works of the Achenese, which were all effectually destroyed or captured ; not a ship, and scarcely a man escaping. Lacsemanna in the

last extremity fled to the woods, but was seized ere long by the king of Paham's scouts. Being brought before the governor, he said to him, with an undaunted countenance, " Behold here Lacsemanna, the first time overcome !" He was treated with respect, but kept a prisoner, and sent on his own famous ship, to Goz, in order to be from thence conveyed to Portugal : but death deprived his enemies of that distinguished ornament of their triumph.^d

This signal defeat proved so important a blow to the power of Acheen, that we read of no further attempts to renew the war, until the year
 1635. 1635, when the king, encouraged by the feuds which at this time prevailed in Malacca, again violated the law of nations, to him little known, by imprisoning their ambassador, and caused all the Portuguese about his court to be murdered. No military operations, however, immediately took place, in consequence of this barbarous proceeding. In the
 1640. year 1640, the Dutch with twelve men of war, and the king of Acheen with twenty five galleys, appeared before that harrassed and devoted city ;^e which at length, in the following year, was wrested from the hands
 1641. of the Portuguese, who had so long, through such difficulties, maintained possession of it. This year was also marked by the death of Sultan Peducka Siri, at the age of sixty, after a reign of thirty five years.^f Thus he lived to see his hereditary foe subdued ; and as if the opposition of the Portuguese power, which first occasioned the rise of that of Acheen, was also necessary to its existence, the splendor and consequence of the kingdom from that period rapidly declined.

The prodigious wealth and resources of the monarchy during his reign, are best evinced by the expeditions he was enabled to fit out ; but being no less covetous than ambitious, he contrived to make the expences fall upon his subjects, and at the same time filled his treasury with gold, by pressing the merchants, and plundering the neighbouring states. An intelligent person who was for some time at his court, and had opportu-

^d Faria y Soufa.

^e Here Faria y Soufa's history of Portuguese Asia concludes.

^f Vies des Gouverneurs Hollandois.

nities of information on the subject, uses this strong expression—that he was infinitely rich.* He constantly employed in his castle three hundred goldsmiths. This would seem an exaggeration, but that it is well known the Malay princes have them always about them in great numbers, at this day, working in the manufacture of filagree, for which the country is so famous. His naval strength has been already sufficiently described. He was possessed of two thousand brass guns, and small arms in proportion. His trained elephants amounted to many hundreds. His armies were probably raised only upon the occasion which called for their acting, and that in a mode similar to what was established under the feudal system in Europe. The valley of Acheen alone was said to be able to furnish forty thousand men upon an emergency.^f A certain number of warriors, however, were always kept on foot, for the protection of the king and his capital. Of these the superior class were called *oolooballang*, and the inferior, *amboraja*, who were entirely devoted to his service, and resembled the janizaries of Constantinople.* Two hundred horsemen nightly patrolled the grounds about the castle, the inner courts and apartments of which were guarded by three thousand women. The king's eunuchs amounted to five hundred.^g

The disposition of this monarch was cruel and sanguinary. A multitude of instances are recorded of the horrible barbarity of his punishments, and for the most trivial offences. He imprisoned his own mother, and put her to the torture, suspecting her to have been engaged in a conspiracy against him, with some of the principle nobles, whom he caused to be executed. He murdered his nephew, the king of Johor's son, whose favor with his mother he was jealous of. He also put to death a son of the king of Bantam, and another of the king of Paham,

* Beaulieu.

^f Beaulieu.

* The *oolooballang* now appear as officers of state, and are few in number; but in the old wars we read of seven hundred falling in one action.

^g Beaulieu.
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who were both his near relations. None of the royal family survived in 1622 but his own son, a youth of eighteen, who had been thrice banished the court, and was thought to owe his continuance in life, only to his surpassing his father, if possible, in cruelty, and being hated by all ranks of people. He was at one time made king of Pedeer, but recalled on account of his excesses, confined in prison,^b and put to strange tortures by his father, whom he did not outlive. The whole territory of Acheen was almost depopulated by wars, executions, and oppression. The king endeavored to repopulate the country by his conquests. Having ravaged the kingdoms of Johor, Paham, Queda, Pera, and Delhy, he transported the inhabitants from those places to Acheen, to the number of twenty two thousand persons. But this barbarous policy did not produce the effect he hoped; for the unhappy people being brought naked to his dominions, and allowed not any kind of maintenance on their arrival, died of hunger in the streets.ⁱ In the planning his military enterprizes, he was generally guided by the distresses of his neighbours, whom he ever lay in wait to make a prey of; and his preparatory measures were taken with such secrecy, that the execution alone unravelled them. Infidious political craft, and wanton delight in blood, united in him to complete the character of a tyrant.

Leaving no male heirs, he was peaceably succeeded in the government by his queen;^k and this presents a new era in the history of the kingdom, as the succession continued for many years in the female line.* The nobles finding their power less restrained, and their consequence more felt, under an administration of this kind, than when ruled by kings, supported these pageants whom they governed as they thought fit, and thereby virtually changed the constitution into an aristocracy. The business of the state was managed by twelve orang cayos, of whom the

^b Beaulieu.ⁱ Beaulieu. Collection of Dutch voyages.^k Vies des Gouverneurs.

* It has been a common error, repeated in many books of Geography, to suppose that queen Elizabeth corresponded with a queen, and not a king, of Acheen. But the female reigns did not commence till forty years after Elizabeth's death.

Maharaja, or governor of the kingdom, as it became usual from that time to call him, was considered as the chief. It does not appear that the queen had the power of appointing or removing any of these great officers. No applications were made to the throne, but in their presence, nor any public resolution taken, but as they determined in council.¹

In proportion as the political importance of the kingdom declined, its history becomes obscure. There are no accounts to be met with of the transactions of this reign, and it is probable that Acheen took no active part in the affairs of the neighbouring powers, but suffered the Dutch to remain in quiet possession of Malacca. Even the period of its duration is not marked. In 1688 a queen of Acheen died,^m but as she is described by the English gentlemen who went there on an embassy from Madras in 1684, to be then about forty years of age, she must have been a successor, and perhaps not the immediate one, of Peducka's widow. These persons declare their suspicions, which were suggested to them by a doubt prevailing amongst the inhabitants, that this sovereign was not a real queen, but an eunuch dressed up in female apparel, and imposed on the public by the artifices of the orang cayos.ⁿ But as such a cheat, though managed with every semblance of reality (which they observe was the case) could not be carried on for any number of years without detection, and as the same idea does not appear to have been entertained at any other period, it is probable they were mistaken in their surmise. Her person they describe to have been large, and her voice surprizingly strong, but not manly.*

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¹ India Company's records.

^m Dampier's voyages. *Vies des Gouverneurs.*

ⁿ India Company's records.

* The following curious passage is extracted from the journal of these gentlemen's proceedings.
 "We went to give our attendance at the palace this day as customary. Being arrived at the place of audience with the orang cayos, the queen was pleased to order us to come nearer, when her majesty was very inquisitive into the use of our wearing Perriwigs, and what was the convenience of them; to all which we returned satisfactory answers. After this, her majesty desired
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The purport of the embassy was to obtain liberty to erect a fortification in her territory, which she peremptorily refused, being contrary to the established rules of the kingdom; adding, that if the governor of Madras would fill her palace with gold, she could not permit him to build with brick, either fort or house. To have a factory of timber and plank, was the utmost indulgence that could be allowed; and on that footing, the return of the English, who had not traded there for many years, should be welcomed with great friendship. The queen herself, the orang cayo represented, was not allowed to fortify, lest some foreign power might avail themselves of it, to enslave the country. In the course of these negotiations it was mentioned, that the agriculture of Acheen had suffered considerably of late years, by reason of a general license given to all the inhabitants to search for gold, in the mountains and rivers which afforded that article; whereas the business had formerly been restricted to certain authorized persons, and the rest obliged to till the ground. It likewise appeared, that through the weakness of its government, and the encroachments of the Dutch, the extent of its ancient dominion was much reduced, and no absolute jurisdiction was claimed more distant than Pedee. The court feared to give a public sanction for the settlement of the English on any part of the southern coast, lest it should embroil them with the other European powers.*

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of Mr. Ord, if it were no affront to him, that he would take off his periwig, that she might see how he appeared without it; which accordingly to her majesty's request he did. She then told us she had heard of our business, and would give her answer by the orang cayo; and so we retired." I venture, with submission, to observe, that this anecdote seems to put the question of the sex beyond controversy.

• India Company's records

* The design of settling a factory at this period, in the dominions of *Acheen*, was occasioned by the recent loss of our establishment at *Bantam*, which had been originally fixed by Sir James Lancaster in 1603. The circumstances of this event were as follows. The old Sultan had thought proper to share the regal power with his son, in the year 1677, and this measure was attended with the obvious effect, of a jealousy between the parent and child, which soon broke forth into open hostilities. The policy of the Dutch led them to take an active part in favor of the young sultan, who had inclined most to their interests, and now solicited their aid. The English, on the other hand, discouraged what appeared to them an unnatural rebellion, but with-

out

The people of Acheen being now accustomed and reconciled to female rule, which they found more lenient than that of their kings, acquiesced

out interfering, as they said, in any other character than that of mediators, or affording military assistance to either party; and which their extreme weakness, rather than their assertions, renders probable. On the twenty-eighth of March 1682, the Dutch landed a considerable force from Batavia, and soon terminated the war. They placed the young sultan on the throne, delivering the father into his custody, and obtained from him in return for these favors an exclusive privilege of trade in his territories; which was evidently the sole object they had in view. On the first day of April, possession was taken of the English factory by a party of Dutch and country soldiers, and on the twelfth, the Agent and Council were obliged to embark, with their property, on vessels provided for the purpose, which carried them to Batavia. From thence they proceeded to Surat, on the twenty-second of August in the following year.

In order to retain a share in the pepper trade, the English turned their thoughts towards Acheen, and a deputation, consisting of two gentlemen, of the names of Ord and Gawley, was sent thither in 1684; the success of which is above related. It happened that at this time, certain *Rajas* or chiefs of the country of *Priaman*, and other places on the west coast of Sumatra were at Acheen also to solicit aid of that court against the Dutch, who had made war upon, and otherwise molested them. These immediately applied to Mr. Ord, expressing a strong desire that the English should settle in their respective districts, offering ground for a fort, and the exclusive purchase of their Pepper. They consented to embark for Madras, where an agreement was formed with them by the governor, in the beginning of the year 1685, on the terms they had proposed. In consequence of this, an expedition was fitted out, with the design of establishing a settlement at *Priaman*; but a day or two before the ships sailed, an invitation, to the like purport, was received from the chiefs of *Bencooloo* (since corruptly called Bencoolen); and as it was known that a considerable proportion of the Pepper that used to be exported from Bantam, had been collected from the neighbourhood of Bencoolen, (at a place called *Silebar*), it was judged advisable that Mr. Ord, who was the person intrusted with the management of this business, should first proceed thither; particularly as at that season of the year it was the windward port. He arrived there on the twenty-fifth day of June 1685, and after taking possession of the country assigned to the English Company, and leaving Mr. Bloome in charge of the place, he sailed for the purpose of establishing the other settlements. He stopped first at *Indrapour*, where he found three Englishmen who were left of a small factory, that had been some time before settled there, by a man of the name of Du Jardin. Here he learned that the Dutch, having obtained a knowledge of the original intention of our fixing at *Priaman*, had anticipated us therein, and sent a party to occupy the situation. In the mean time it was understood in Europe that this place was the chief of our establishments on the coast, and ships were accordingly consigned thither. The same was supposed at Madras, and troops and stores were sent to reinforce it, which were afterwards landed at *Indrapour*. A settlement was then formed at *Manduta*, and another attempted at *Batang Capas*, in 1686; but here the Dutch, assisted by a party amongst the natives, assaulted and drove out our people. Every possible opposition, as it was natural to expect, was given by these our rivals to the success of our factories. They fixed themselves in the neighbourhood

1695. quiesced in general in the continuance of the established mode of government, and a queen accordingly succeeded in 1688. But this did not

bourhood of them, and endeavored to obstruct the country people from carrying pepper to them, or supplying them with provisions either by sea or land. Our interests however in the end prevailed, and Bencoolen in particular, to which the other places were rendered subordinate in 1686, began to acquire some degree of vigor and respectability. In 1689 encouragement was given to Chinese colonists to settle there, whose number has been continually increasing from that time. In 1691 the Dutch felt the loss of their influence at Silebar and other of the southern countries, where they attempted to exert authority in the name of the sultan of Bantam, and the produce of these places was delivered to the English. This revolution proceeded from the works with which about this time our factory was strengthened. In 1695 a settlement was made at *Triamang*, and two years after at *Catterun* and *Sablat*. The first, in the year 1700, was removed to *Bantal*. Various applications were made by the natives in different parts of the island for the establishment of factories, particularly from *Ayer Bengoy* to the northward, *Palembang* on the eastern side, and the people from the countries south of *Tallo*, near *Manna*. A person was sent to survey these last, as far as *Poelo Pefang* and *Cross*, in 1715. In consequence of the inconvenience attending the shipping off goods from Bencoolen river, which is often impracticable from the furs, a warehouse was built, in 1701, at a place they called the *cove*; which gave the first idea of removing the settlement to the point of land which forms the bay of Bencoolen. The fickleness of the old situation was thought to render this an expedient step; and accordingly about 1714, it was in great measure relinquished, and the foundations of Fort Marlborough were laid on a spot two or three miles distant. Being a high plain it was judged to possess considerable advantages; many of which, however, are counterbalanced by its want of the vicinity of a river; so necessary for the ready and plentiful supply of provisions. Some progress had been made in the erection of this fort, when an accident happened, that had nearly destroyed the Company's views. The country people incensed at ill treatment received from the Europeans, who were then but little versed in the knowledge of their dispositions, or the art of managing them by conciliating methods, rose in a body in the year 1719, and forced the garrison, whose ignorant fears rendered them precipitate, to seek refuge on board their ships. They began now to feel alarms lest the Dutch should take advantage of the absence of the English, and soon permitted some persons from the northern factories to resettle the place; and supplies arriving from Madras, things returned to their former course, and the fort was completed. The Company's affairs on this coast remained in tranquillity for a number of years. The important settlement of Natal was established in 1752, and that of Tappanooly a short time afterwards; which involved the English in fresh disputes with the Dutch, who set up a claim to the country in which they are situated. In the year 1760 the French, under Comte d'Estaign, destroyed all the English settlements on the coast of Sumatra; but they were soon re-established, and our possession secured by the treaty of Paris in 1763. Fort Marlborough, which had been hitherto a peculiar subordinate of Fort St. George, was now formed into an independent Presidency, and was furnished with a charter for erecting a Mayor's court, but which has never been enforced. In 1781 a detachment of Military from thence embarked upon five East India ships, and took possession of Padang and all

not take place without a strong opposition from a faction amongst the orang cayos who wanted to set up a king; and a civil war actually commenced. The two parties drew up on contrary sides of the river, and for two or three nights continued to fire at each other, but in the day time followed their ordinary occupations. These opportunities of intercourse made them sensible of their mutual folly. They agreed to throw aside their arms; and the crown remained in possession of the new elected queen.^p It was said to have been esteemed essential, that she should be a maiden, advanced in years, and connected by blood with the ancient royal line. In this reign, an English factory, which had been long discontinued, was re-established at Acheen: in the interval, however, some private traders of this nation, had always resided on the spot. These usually endeavored to persuade the state, that they represented the India Company, and sometimes acquired great influence, which they employed in a manner not only detrimental to that body, but to the interests of the merchants of India in general, by monopolizing the trade of the port, throwing impediments in the way of all shipping not consigned to their management, and embezzling the cargos of such as were.* An asylum was also afforded, beyond the reach of law, for all persons whose crimes or debts induced them to fly from the several European settlements. These considerations chiefly made the Company resolve to assert their ancient privileges in that kingdom, and a deputation was sent

all the other Dutch factories, in consequence of the war with that nation. In 1782 the powder magazine of Fort Marlborough, in which were four hundred barrels of powder, was fired by lightning, and blew up; but providentially it only destroyed their stores, with the loss of a few lives. The return of peace affords an opportunity, which it is hoped will not be neglected, of improving this establishment and rendering it beneficial to the Company. The history of the trade of a place, which is an entire-monopoly, can neither be generally interesting nor useful. Suffice it then to say, that the quantity of pepper produced in all the Company's districts on Sumatra, is, *communibus annis*, twelve hundred tons; of which the greater part comes to Europe, and the remainder is sent to China.

^p Dampier's voyages.

* The most distinguished of these independent factors, was one of the name of Francis Delton, who went out supercargo of a ship to Siam, from whence he made several voyages to China, and at length settled at Acheen in 1688. The Company's establishment in 1695 was soon reduced to nothing, whereas Delton's trade flourished in 1704, when Lockyer was there.

B b b

from

1695. from the presidency of Madras, in the year 1695, for that purpose, with letters addressed to her illustrious majesty the queen of Acheen, desiring permission to settle, on the terms her predecessors had granted to them : which was readily complied with, and a factory, but on a very limited scale, was established accordingly. At this time the Acheneſe were alarmed by the arrival of six ſail of Dutch ſhips of force, with a number of troops on board, in their road ; not having been viſited by any of that nation for fifteen years : but they departed without offering any moleſtation.

1700. The queen died in the year 1700, and with her the female monarchy expired. A prieſt found means, by his intrigues, to acquire the ſovereignty. He attempted to impoſe ſome duties on the merchandize imported by the Engliſh, who had long been indulged with an exemption from all charges, except the complimentary preſents on their arrival. This innovation the maſters of ſhips then in the port determined to oppoſe, and in a very unwarrantable manner proceeded to immediate hoſtilities ; firing upon the villages ſituated near the mouth of the river, and cutting off from the city all ſupplies of proviſion by ſea. The inhabitants feeling ſeverely the effects of this proceeding, grew clamorous againſt the government, which was ſoon obliged to reſtore to theſe insolent traders the privileges contended for. Advantage was taken of the public diſcontents to raiſe an infurrection in favor of the late queen's nephew,¹ who ſucceeding in his views, was in poſſeſſion of the throne in 1704.²—And here the clue of our hiſtory, which has not been traced without conſiderable difficulty, breaks off ; and we are totally in the dark with reſpect to the tranſactions of the ſubſequent reigns. It is, however, brought down to a modern date, within the compaſs of authentic tradition ; and I do not deſpair of being enabled hereafter to continue the account, unimportant though it be, to the days of the prince now upon the throne, whoſe reign has proved long, and attended with many reverses of fortune, which more than once have obliged him to fly from his kingdom.

1704.

¹ India Company's records.

² Hamilton's voyage.

³ Lockyer.

Conclusion.

HAVING thus brought to a close, the digest of such materials for an Account of the island of Sumatra, as I had been induced, from curiosity and love of science, to collect together during my residence there, and have had opportunity of acquiring since my return; and having endeavored to render my labors as fitting as my talents would allow, to meet the eye of the public, I now submit them cheerfully, but not confidently, to their inspection. I am sensible of the awfulness of the tribunal before which I am going to appear; but I also know the indulgence it is ever ready to shew, in a particular manner, to those whose writings tend to establish facts, rather than systems, and humbly to describe things as they exist, rather than to display the powers of a creative imagination.

To those, who may object that my description of the island is in some respects incomplete, and in many points unscientific, I am ready to avow its manifest deficiencies, of which I feel the strongest conviction. I can only state in justification, that I was encouraged by persons of the first consideration in the world of science, and in some measure against my own feelings, to prepare for publication whatever materials I did possess for the Natural history of the country; as laying thereby a foundation-stone, in a new building, upon which others hereafter might raise a more perfect superstructure. Many will doubtless observe, that the detail of manners and customs of an uncivilized people descends often to circumstances so trivial, as neither to interest nor to amuse the reader who has been accustomed to peruse volumes that treat of more important topics. To these I reply, that every man is inclined to suppose his own favorite object of pursuit to be the most generally interesting; but candor should induce them to reflect, that what to them appear insignificant minutiae, by others may be regarded as matter worthy of philosophical curiosity. Such details, in fact, often prove the most acceptable parts of a work, from their greater chance of originality. All the races of man-

kind bear to each other so strong a resemblance, in the general outline and complexion of their sentiments and actions, and more especially of those which are usually termed important, that to exhibit such alone would mark no distinction. The most prominent features in the delineation of any subject, are not found the most characteristic. The spirit of ambition in men who aim at sovereign power, or of political jealousy in those who already possess it, are observed to have produced the same effects, in all countries, and in all ages; and consequently afford no criterion of the genius and manners of a particular people. This must be sought for rather in the less obvious occurrences of private and domestic life; and will better appear in the social customs of an obscure village, than in the splendid ceremonies and arbitrary institutions of a powerful court. The former are the settled result of long prevalent ideas and habitual prejudices; the latter have their origin and temporary existence, in the caprice of individuals, who, if ignorant, headstrong, and flagitious, make the most respected customs of their people, the sport of a momentary passion; or if wise and benevolently inclined, borrow their maxims of government and civil regulations, from the most enlightened amongst other nations, and thus, whilst they improve the condition of their subjects, destroy the peculiarity and genuineness of their character.

I would by no means be understood to contend that the history of such transactions is without its propriety and use. Man must be exhibited in every point of view; and in every light we behold it, the subject will be interesting. But I would suggest, that when he is found in his least sophisticated state, even though that should be in the rudest scene of uncultivated nature, the picture of his manners does not then claim an inferior degree of attention.

I have vainly wished that my performance could be rendered acceptable to all descriptions of readers; but as that is chimerical, I shall esteem myself happy if I meet the approbation, or even the indulgence, of the *liberal*, whom I would persuade myself are not the few. Genuineness, and a rigid adherence to truth, so far as it has been possible for

a short-sighted mortal to distinguish between that and error, are what I presume chiefly to arrogate to myself, and on these I rest my claim to public favor. If any more experienced and better informed traveller will point out to me where I have been deceived, in those matters to which I had an opportunity of being an eye witness, or misled, where I was obliged to depend upon the testimony of others, I shall be more forward to correct my mistakes, than I am now, unintentionally, to obtrude them on the world.

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Sinkell,

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E R R A T A.

E R R A T A.

P.	vi.	l.	1.	for <i>biberto</i>	read <i>bisberto</i> .
	56.		16.	<i>otbres</i>	read <i>others</i> .
	67.		23.	<i>five</i>	read <i>five</i> .
	73.		5.	<i>Amboinienfis</i>	read <i>Amboinenfis</i> .
	94.		21.	<i>its</i>	read <i>is</i> .
	95.		9.	<i>protabrance</i>	read <i>protuberance</i> .
	98.		16.	<i>cooyoo</i>	read <i>pooyoo</i> .
	102.		10.	<i>diff:rent</i>	read <i>different</i> .
	120.		12.	<i>tolerable</i>	read <i>tolerably</i> .
	131.		4.	after <i>horfe</i> should be an asterisk.	
	137.		22.	for <i>beeile</i>	read <i>betel</i> .
	138.		27.	<i>clift</i>	read <i>cleft</i> .
	141.	m. n.		<i>Mafactures</i>	read <i>Manufactures</i> .
	144.	28.	29.	<i>performing</i>	read <i>performed</i> .
	147.	m. n.		<i>freight</i>	read <i>frighten</i> .
	148.		11.	<i>supprizing</i>	read <i>surprizing</i> .
			26.	<i>facinating</i>	read <i>fascinating</i> .
			28.	<i>crocad:ie</i>	read <i>crocodile</i> .
	152.		8.	<i>practice</i>	read <i>practise</i> .
	155.		9.	<i>f</i>	read <i>of</i> .
	170.		3.	<i>his</i>	read <i>this</i> .
		ult.		<i>momentary</i>	read <i>m. mentary</i> .
	183.		8.	<i>were</i>	read <i>wbere</i> .
	202.		8.	<i>Soogey</i>	read <i>Soongey</i> .
	210.	20.	21.	<i>seveveral</i>	read <i>several</i> .
	248.		19.	<i>fixth</i>	read <i>sixth</i> .
	264.		5.	<i>dressm</i>	read <i>dressing</i> .
	268.	n.	7.	<i>ilba</i>	read <i>ilba</i> .
	269.	n.	ult.	<i>bnm</i>	read <i>hum</i> .
	293.	n.	9.	<i>Jun</i>	read <i>June</i> .
	299.		8.	<i>gluttonous</i>	read <i>gluttonous</i> .
			10.	<i>bas</i>	read <i>as</i> .
	306.	n.	6.	<i>practice</i>	read <i>practise</i> .
	309.		8.	<i>cbace</i>	read <i>chase</i> .
	312.	n.	2.	<i>corruply</i>	read <i>corruptly</i> .
	314.	n.	5.	<i>grand</i>	read <i>grande</i> .
			9.	<i>rassamble</i>	read <i>rassemble</i> .
		ib.		<i>compagne</i>	read <i>campagne</i> .
	327.		3.	<i>nigh to</i>	read <i>and</i> .
	335.	ult.		<i>first</i>	read <i>first</i> .
	352.	antep.		<i>a little better</i>	read <i>little better</i> .
	358.		23.	<i>Portuguse</i>	read <i>Portuguese</i> .
	363.		24.	<i>principle</i>	read <i>principal</i> .
	366.	n.	4.	<i>pul</i>	read <i>put</i> .
			9.	<i>least</i>	read <i>left</i> .
	368.	n.	28.	<i>ditto</i>	read <i>ditto</i> .

